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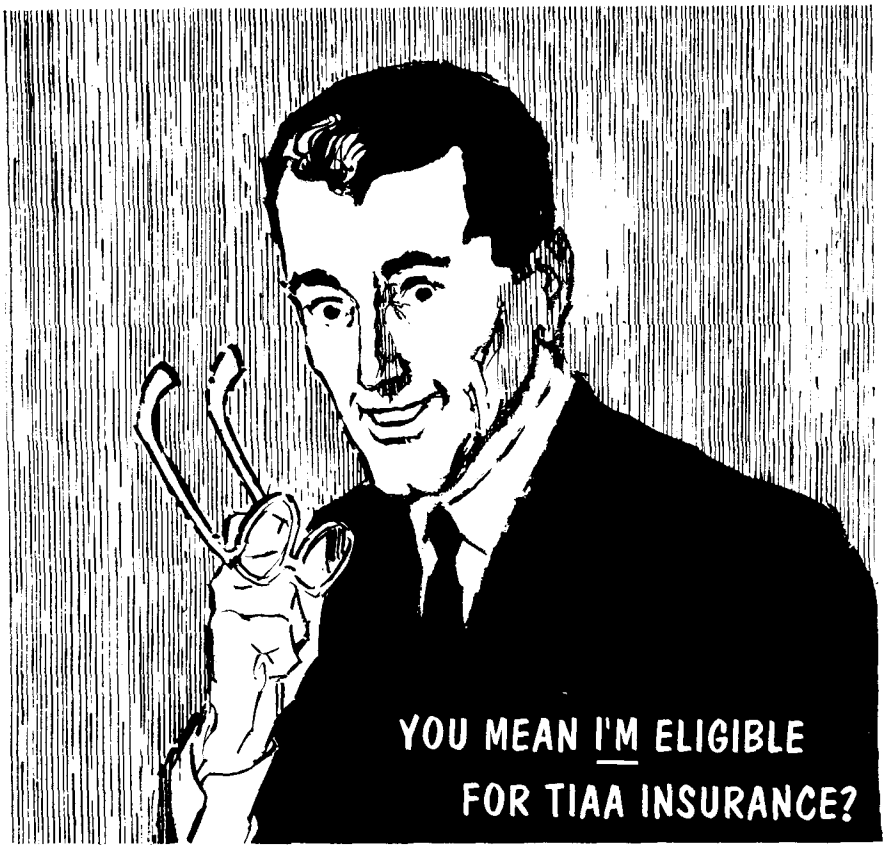
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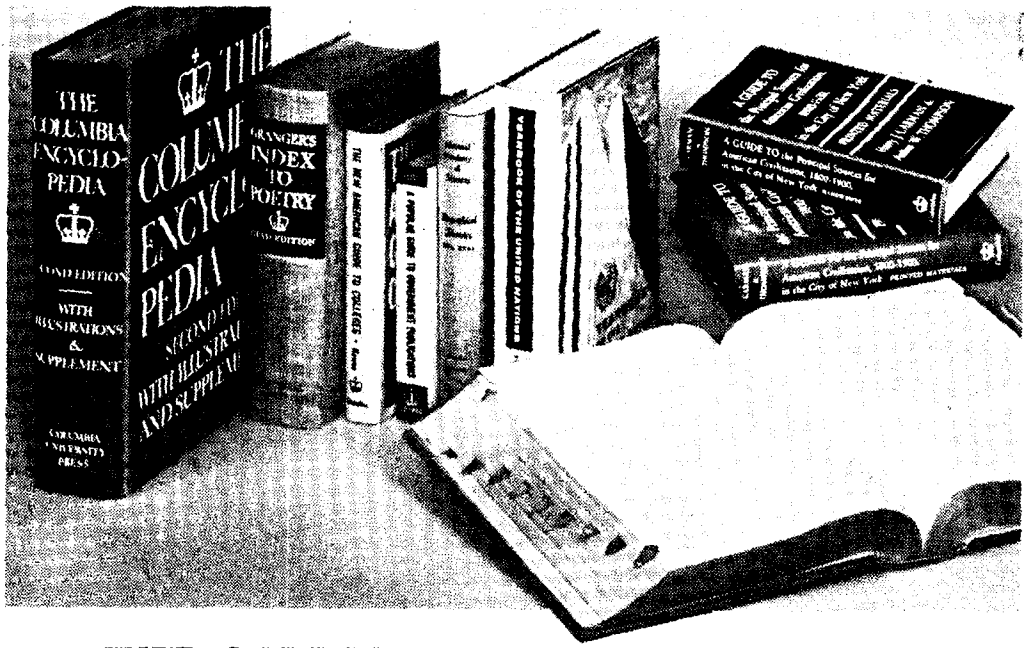
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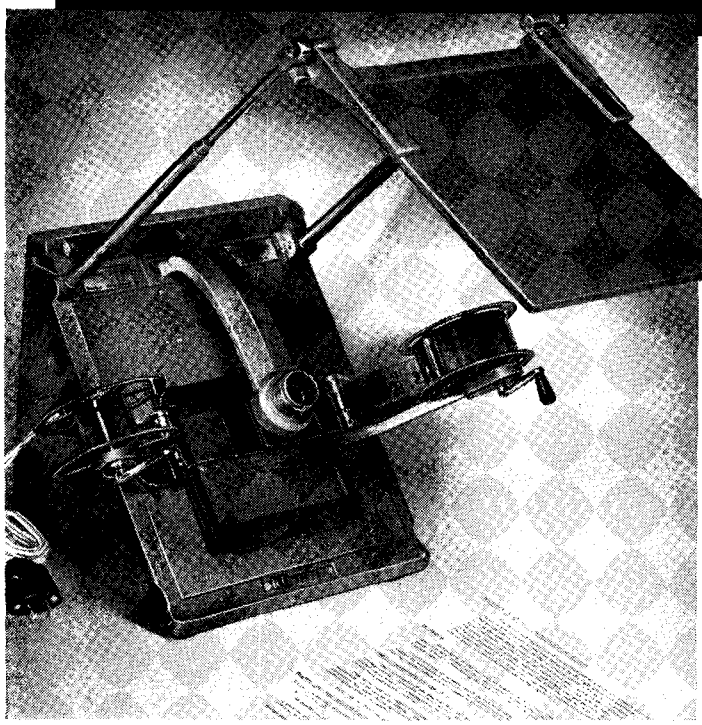
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As one of ablest constitutional and trial lawyers of his day, Bewley's critical treatment of the Nuremberg Trial is, perhaps, the best summary yet published in English. His account of Göring at Nuremberg is in full accord with the opinion recently expressed by Lord Justice Norman Birkett, the British Judge at Nuremberg, in the London *Sunday Times*, April 14, 1963:

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Notable also at this moment, when we have been submerged in a mounting tidal wave of unrestrained tales of atrocities attributed to National Socialist Germany is Bewley's effective demonstration that Göring had no direct responsibility for these brutalities and was deeply shocked when he learned of their existence and extent. But Bewley does not seek to deny the reality of atrocities and he is caustic in his criticism of Heydrich, Himmler and others who were responsible.

Bewley does not fail to emphasize and criticize, time and again, Göring's "Achilles heel"—his admiration and affection for Hitler, which endured even after Hitler had repudiated and made an outlaw of him as Germany was collapsing.

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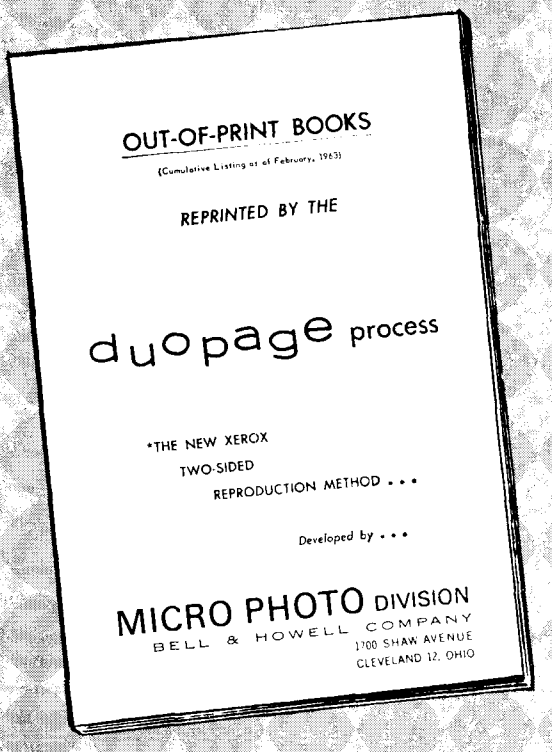
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OVERLORD Revisited: An Interpretation of American Strategy in the European War, 1942-1944

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON*

THIRTEEN years ago Hanson Baldwin expounded in a widely read essay what he regarded as the major errors of the Western Allies during World War II. In the process he sketched an image of Allied strategy in Europe that, in this country at least, has remained alive in scholarly and popular writing on the subject ever since. Baldwin pictured two strategies at odds, each claiming to be the only sure formula for defeating Hitler: the American concept of an early and decisive drive across northwestern France into the heart of Germany, and the British design of a leisurely series of attritional and diversionary campaigns along the Mediterranean periphery

* The coauthor of *Global Logistics and Strategy, 1940–1943* (Washington, D. C., 1956), Mr. Leighton is assistant to the senior educational adviser, Industrial College of the Armed Forces; his major interests are military history and thought. Mr. Leighton read a version of this paper at a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Military Institute in Washington, D. C., December 1961.

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of Fortress Europe. Both strategies assigned a major role to strategic bombing of the German homeland and occupied Europe.[1]

As Baldwin and his successors have portrayed it, American strategic thinking, from first to last, was uncompromisingly hostile to the concepts urged by the British for defeating Germany. The story begins in spring of 1942 with the approval by American and British leaders of the United States Army's plan (ROUNDUP) for an all-out invasion of northwestern France in April 1943. Preparations for ROUNDUP were scarcely under way when the British, facing a midyear crisis in the Middle East, announced they would not go through with a corollary feature of the plan. This was Operation SLEDGEHAMMER, an emergency crossing of the English Channel later in the year with any forces available, either to forestall a German victory on the eastern front or to exploit a German collapse, whichever might appear imminent. While abandonment of SLEDGEHAMMER theoretically need not have ruled out ROUNDUP, both President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill regarded an Allied offensive in the west before the end of 1942 as politically imperative. Churchill, moreover, in line with his "peripheral" strategy and British imperial aims, was determined on an Allied invasion of French North Africa in conjunction with a westward drive by the British Eighth Army through Libya. The American President, beguiled by Churchill's personality and eloquence, forced this project upon his unwilling military advisers. ROUNDUP, in effect, was abandoned.

With the successful invasion of North Africa (TORCH) in November 1942, Allied strategy thus veered off on its British inspired Mediterranean tangent. Over the protests of American military leaders, North Africa led to Sicily, Sicily "inevitably" to Italy, and Italy, if the British had had their way, would have led to the Balkans and Southeastern Europe. "But," continues Baldwin, "American strength had now been mobilized; Roosevelt was now firm for Overlord (formerly called Roundup), the invasion of Normandy, and the British were forced to agree at Quebec, in August 1943, that Overlord should have the inside track." With Churchill fiercely resisting, the Quebec decision was subsequently reaffirmed at Tehran in November 1943, with the support of the Soviet Premier, Stalin, who also backed a southern France invasion to support OVERLORD, against Churchill's scheme of a trans-Adriatic drive into the Balkans. Still bent on an invasion of Southeastern Europe, Churchill early in 1944 instigated

[1] Hanson W. Baldwin, *Great Mistakes of the War* (New York, 1950), 25–45. Baldwin here develops his thesis that the British plan of invading Southeastern Europe in mid-1944 would have brought victory sooner and averted postwar Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

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the Allied landings below Rome at Anzio, which failed to break the stalemate in Italy. Later, following the Normandy invasion in June 1944, he urged a thrust into Hungary via Trieste and the Ljubljana Gap, instead of the repeatedly postponed southern France operation desired by the Americans. But, concludes Baldwin, "it was not to be; the British . . . had failed; the American strategy—heartily endorsed by the Russians—was the pattern of conquest."[2]

This picture of a Western Allied strategy oscillating between two fixed and rigidly opposed national concepts is an interpretation that, even in 1950, strained the evidence. Subsequent research in official records has filled in the detailed record of strategic planning, negotiation, and confrontation, and illuminated the rich variety and internal cleavages of strategic thinking on both sides.[3] In doing so, it has undermined the validity of many infer-

[2] *Ibid.*, 34–41.

[3] The best recent guide to the literature of World War II strategy can be found in Louis Morton's "Sources for the History of World War II," *World Politics*, XIII (Apr. 1961), 435–53. Also useful, though less recent, is the bibliographical appendix in Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943–1944* (Washington, D. C., 1959). For the present article, it will suffice to indicate the major works on Allied strategy in the European war that have extensively exploited the official records. Gordon A. Harrison, in his *Cross-Channel Attack* (Washington, D. C., 1951), a volume in the official series "The US Army in World War II," established a detailed record of the planning of the Normandy invasion that has not been significantly amended since. This remains the best single work on the subject. Other volumes in the same series have developed other aspects of Allied strategy in Europe. See esp. Mark S. Watson, *Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations* (Washington, D. C., 1950); Ray S. Cline, *Washington Command Post: The Operations Division* (Washington, D. C., 1951); Maurice Matloff and Edwin M. Snell, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1941–1942* (Washington, D. C., 1953); Forrest C. Pogue, *The Supreme Command* (Washington, D. C., 1954); Richard M. Leighton and Robert W. Coakley, *Global Logistics and Strategy, 1940–1943* (Washington, D. C., 1956); Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943–1944*, cited above; and Robert W. Coakley and Richard M. Leighton, "Global Logistics and Strategy, 1943–1945," MS, a forthcoming publication in the same series, sequel to the Leighton and Coakley volume mentioned above. To this list should be added another publication under the army's historical program, *Command Decisions*, ed. Kent R. Greenfield (Washington, D. C., 1960). The strategic role of American air power in Europe is developed in the first three volumes of the official series, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, ed. Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate (7 vols., Chicago, 1948–58). For the navy, primarily on the operational level, see Samuel E. Morison's semiofficial series, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (15 vols., Boston, 1947–62). On the British side the most significant contributions are to be found in the official *History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Military Series*, ed. James R. M. Butler (London, 1956–), esp. *Grand Strategy*, II, *September 1939–June 1941*, by the editor (London, 1957); John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, *August 1943–September 1944* (London, 1956); and *id.*, *Grand Strategy*, VI, *September 1944–August 1945* (London, 1957). A forthcoming volume (IV) by Michael Howard will partially fill the gap from mid-1941 to mid-1943 between Butler's and Ehrman's works. No attempt can be made here to review the large memoir literature relating to the European war. Three publications in this category deserve mention as major works of scholarship in their own right: Sir Winston Churchill's *The Second World War* (6 vols., Boston, 1947–53); Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History* (New York, 1948); and Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York, 1947). Two other substantial works of private scholarship should also be noted: Herbert Feis, *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), and William H. McNeill, *America, Britain, and Russia, Their Cooperation and Conflict, 1941–1946* (London, 1953).

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ences that contemporaries and historians alike have drawn from the events.

We now know, for example, that responsible British leaders never advocated an Allied "invasion" of the Balkan Peninsula and that the "Balkans vs. Western Europe controversy" referred to by many postwar writers[4] is a myth. More generally, it is clear that the British advocated Mediterranean operations in 1942, 1943, and early 1944, not as the main effort in the European theater, but as an indispensable prelude to a decisive invasion from the northwest, which they, like the Americans, regarded as the only sure means of defeating Germany. This position was not inconsistent with their candidly expressed fears that an inadequately prepared and supported cross-channel assault might end in a blood bath, nor with the hope, persisting as late as November 1943, that when the time came a full-scale assault might prove unnecessary. Their commitment to the cross-channel invasion concept is attested to by the enormous investment of shipping, forces, facilities, and matériel they poured into the preparations for the operation. It is also reflected in their insistent demands, during the 1942–1943 debates over the size and shape of the invasion, for a stronger assault and a larger allotment of landing craft than the Americans, with one eye on the Pacific war, were willing to provide. In short, the familiar stereotype that pictures the British as persistently maneuvering at the conference table and behind the scenes to weaken and postpone the cross-channel invasion, while striving to build up the Mediterranean theater at its expense, and as being finally "pinned down" and "forced to agree" at Quebec and Tehran to go through with the invasion as scheduled, is not consistent with the findings of postwar research.

The parallel stereotype on the American side is equally without foundation. American strategists were not consistently or unanimously dedicated to an overriding concentration of effort on a cross-channel invasion. True, United States military leaders opposed the decision to invade North Africa, but theirs was not the final word. Roosevelt's was, and his emphatic endorsement of TORCH set American strategy, for better or for worse, on a course his military advisers had no choice but to follow. Actually, it is perfectly clear from the records that even the military leaders, once committed to the Mediterranean by the entry into North Africa, yielded more or less reluctantly to the logic of momentum and events and supported the successive campaigns in Sicily, Italy, and, of course, southern France. Some of them, in midsummer of 1943, even urged an all-out effort in the Mediterranean, at

[4] See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 335; Anne Armstrong, *Unconditional Surrender* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1961), 47–49; William D. Leahy, *I Was There* (New York, 1950), 162, 242; Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* (New York, 1958), 170, 184, 217, 228, 230, 236.

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the expense of preparations for a cross-channel invasion, to exploit Italy's impending collapse. Meanwhile, despite earlier agreement that the war in Europe had first claim on Allied resources, during 1943 the Americans were carrying on an expanding, not a holding, war against Japan, at considerable cost to their effort in Europe.

On the bare face of the record, today as in 1950, it would appear that both Allies, notwithstanding differences over timing and emphasis, favored something like the design actually executed, a major invasion of Europe from the northwest following diversionary and attritional campaigns in the Mediterranean and strategic bombing of Germany. Yet most writings on World War II strategy have preserved intact Baldwin's image of fundamentally opposed national strategies. It has been woven into the fabric of the gradually unfolding official programs of World War II history in this country, while its component image of American strategy is widely accepted by British historians who, denied access to official US records, have no basis for challenging it.[5]

Indeed, the only significant revision of Baldwin's interpretation was the "fusionist" theory formulated in the mid-1950's by Kent Roberts Greenfield, dean of the army's official historians. In Greenfield's view the Normandy invasion

> embodied the strategic concepts for which both partners had contended. When they put it into effect, they had tightened the ring around the Axis almost to the point of strangulation. . . . To this extent, the concept of strategy urged by the British had prevailed, with tremendous effect. But when Overlord came, it was no mop-up. It was the power play for which the Americans had always contended, and the Allies put behind it the force and weight needed to drive it to the heart of Germany.[6]

In short, the two strategies blended into a pragmatic compromise. The Mediterranean side show, indecisive in itself, forced the Germans to spread and waste their waning strength, to the benefit of OVERLORD. Yet, even with the Mediterranean diversion, anything less than a "power play" OVERLORD would have failed to break the crust of German defenses in the west Happily, the Allies did not rely solely either on a "peripheral" Mediterranean strategy leading to a "mop-up" OVERLORD, or on a "power

[5] The two strategies theory is expounded most fully in Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944;* see also Trumbull Higgins, *Winston Churchill and the Second Front* (New York, 1957); Ernest J. King and Walter M. Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King, A Naval Record* (New York, 1952); Chester Wilmot, *The Struggle for Europe* (New York, 1952); Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide* (Garden City, N. Y., 1957) and *Triumph in the West* (Garden City, N. Y., 1959); and the memoirs of Leahy and Wedemeyer cited in note 4, above.

[6] Kent R. Greenfield, *The Historian and the Army* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1954), 58–59.

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play" OVERLORD without diversionary preparation in the Mediterranean. They combined pragmatically the strong elements of both strategies, discarding the weak, and victory was theirs.

Other historians have played variations on this theme.[7] But all the fusionists, including Greenfield, cling to the notion of rival national strategies alternately superseding each other in Allied high councils. Indeed, the process as they describe it is characterized far more by acrimonious, unresolved competition than by fusion or pragmatic compromise. The fusionist revision has left the theory of two strategies essentially intact.

This notion of two divergent strategies has, in fact, become part of the American legend of World War II, born and nourished in the emotional atmosphere of coalition debate and perpetuated by the memoirs of certain wartime leaders. The legend pictures British strategy, not as responsible British spokesmen presented and expounded it, but as a group of influential American strategists, deeply suspicious of British aims, interpreted it. The Americans, as an official British historian has shrewdly observed, referring to the situation late in 1943, "feared the shadow, rather than the substance, of the British proposals. Fearing the shadow, they tended to neglect the substance."[8] Some American strategists, in turn, cherished a rationale of their own strategy that seemed at times to have little relation to the courses of action they and their government actually espoused. It reflected the exaggerated hopes of spring 1942 and the frustrations of the ensuing year and a half, when Allied strategy seemed to many Americans to be subservient to British purposes and drifting toward stalemate. From this rationale has grown a postwar legend, resembling a morality play, in which American strategists, betrayed by the forces of British peripheralism, struggle from mid-1942 until late 1943 "to win their way back to the notion of waging a war of mass and concentration on the Continent."[9]

As the remainder of this article attempts to show, the legend has obscured the real strategy that, on the American side, flowed from the interacting processes of staff debate, informal influence and pressure, and formal decision making. This strategy represented no single school or group, but was a blend of competing views dominated by the President's firm, though usually unobtrusive, guidance. Except in its conception of the relation between the war in Europe and the war against Japan, it did not differ from the British in fundamental respects. Like the British, it was a prag-

[7] See esp. Samuel E. Morison, *Strategy and Compromise* (Boston, 1958), and Feis, *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin*. In the army series the nearest approach to Greenfield's fusionist theory is in Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*. Greenfield acknowledges his debt to Harrison.

[8] Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, 117.

[9] Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, 42; see also *ibid.*, 9–17, 72–76, 143–45, 383–87, *et passim*.

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matic, flexible, even, in some respects, "peripheral" strategy, continuously responsive to political realities and to changing military needs.

The American legend had its origin in the War Department Operations Division (OPD), General George C. Marshall's principal strategy planning staff. For a powerful group of these planners[10] their own concept of an overriding concentration of effort during 1942 and early 1943 on preparations (including strategic bombing) for a large-scale invasion of northwestern France in spring of 1943 represented the ideal strategy for the European war. This concept, embodied in the BOLERO-ROUNDUP plan of March 1942, was approved by Marshall, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, and the President, and accepted by the British in April.[11] For a few weeks it remained the basis of Allied strategy.

It was a dubious scheme from the start. ROUNDUP's forty-eight American and British divisions almost certainly could not have been amassed in the United Kingdom with all their supporting matériel by D day; nor could the prerequisite strategic air offensive have been mounted in 1942, given the trend of Allied shipping losses and the undeferrable demands of other theaters. With hastily assembled, still unblooded forces and uncertain logistical backing, ROUNDUP would have been a one-shot, one-front diversionary thrust at Germany's rear, puny beside Russia's massive effort in the east—a desperate attempt to win an early decision in the west and thus forestall the interminable war of attrition that would have followed the German victory over Russia which, in spring of 1942, seemed imminent.[12]

But Marshall, Stimson, and the OPD sponsors of the plan liked to think of ROUNDUP in more heroic terms. They saw it as an attack from strength into strength, an effort to fulfill the army's prewar aim of crushing Germany "by actually coming to grips with and defeating her ground forces and definitely breaking her will to combat."[13] For these enthusiasts the shelving of the plan in midsummer of 1942 was a traumatic experience. BOLERO-ROUNDUP had promised to bring an early end to a war that was not

[10] General Dwight D. Eisenhower, principal author of the BOLERO-ROUNDUP plan, left OPD in June 1942 to take command of the European theater. Other leading members of the group were Colonels (in 1942) John E. Hull, Albert C. Wedemeyer, Thomas T. Handy, and Voris H. Connor.

[11] For detailed accounts, see Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942*, Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, and Cline, *Washington Command Post*. BOLERO was the code name for the preinvasion build-up in the British Isles.

[12] For the uncertain logistical outlook of the BOLERO program in summer 1942, see Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, Chap. XIV.

[13] Quoted from the War Department "Victory Program" of September 1941, in Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942*, 61; see also views of Eisenhower in February 1942 and of the Joint US Strategic Committee early in March. (*Ibid.*, 156–58, 177–78.)

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merely going badly, but was becoming intolerably complex and far-spreading, to put an end to British tutelage, to free coalition strategy from the drag of British world-wide interests, to channel the European war into an area where American industrial power could be brought to bear and, above all, where strategy could be kept simple. Behind the defunct plan lingered a legend, intoned with increasing fervor by the faithful in OPD, that the war could have been ended in 1944, simply, cleanly, decisively, had BOLERO-ROUNDUP not been sabotaged by the British and Mr. Roosevelt.

For a while some of the mourners even clung to the hope that it might yet be revived, that Allied armies in the Mediterranean could simply halt in their tracks, most of them be moved back to England, and a new cross-channel invasion be fashioned in the image of the old.[14] But by late 1942 this hope was already fading and, despite continuing lamentations over the passing of BOLERO-ROUNDUP,[15] soon disappeared altogether from staff papers addressed to present realities. For American strategy was now on a different course altogether from that envisaged in spring of 1942, and not in Europe alone. Along with and in the wake of the TORCH decision came stepped-up activity by the Western Allies all around the world: a British offensive in Libya, heavily supported by American matériel; preparations for a strategic air offensive against Germany; expansion of far-flung logistical establishments; ground operations on the fringes of Burma and air activity in China; an increased flow of supplies to Russia; limited offensives in the Pacific. The central goal of a decisive cross-channel invasion remained, but was deferred for the time being to a dim and indefinite future. For a few months, lacking a concrete timetable, the build-up of forces and matériel in the British Isles languished.[16]

The new strategy was actually a revival of an older one, a return to concepts affirmed by US and British leaders at the ARCADIA Conference of December 1941. The ARCADIA strategy had envisaged a program of air bombardment, blockade, subversion, raids, and limited offensives around the perimeter of Axis Europe, establishment of invasion bases starting with an occupation of French North Africa in 1942, and in 1943 a return to the Continent, perhaps from more than one direction. All this was to be the first phase—"closing and tightening the ring"—while the Allies built up

[14] *Ibid.*, 157, 159, 181, 185; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, 417, 426; Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* Chap. x and pp. 174–75; Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 35–36; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, 14.

[15] E.g., the reports by Colonels Voris Connor, William W. Bessell, Jr., and Richard C. Lindsay in July 1943, discussed *ibid.*, 166.

[16] Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 35–36; Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942*, Chaps. XII–XIV; Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, Chaps. XVI–XXI.

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strength and curbed Japan's expansion in the Pacific. Liberation of captive Europe and the final assault on the Axis citadel would come later.[17]

Though subsequently derided by army planners as a typical product of British defensive-minded peripheralism, the ARCADIA program was far from alien to American thinking. The navy's contribution to the "Victory Program" estimates for the defeat of Germany ordered by the President in summer of 1941, for example, had envisaged a rather limited rearmament and mobilization, heavy reliance on air and sea power and foreign manpower, and a strategy based on "the employment of land forces in regions where Germany cannot exert the full power of her land armies."[18]

In December 1941 American strategists, like the British, still had not formulated a clear picture of the eventual test of strength in Europe. But on what must precede that test there was by then a fair consensus: the sea lanes must first be secured, rear and advanced bases established, Germany weakened by blockade, subversion, raids, and air bombardment. Thereafter the approach to Fortress Europe must be made by regular stages following adequate preparation.[19] ARCADIA fixed this conception as the basic pattern of coalition strategy, and the revival of the planned North African operation in July 1942, following the brief BOLERO-ROUNDUP interlude, marked the return to that pattern. From then on American strategy evolved as a process of continuing adjustment to the consequences of TORCH.

In the shaping of the post-TORCH strategy, two influences external to the army played a potent role. One was the counterattraction of the Pacific war, forcefully represented in the Joint Chiefs of Staff by the bleak and aggressive personality of Admiral Ernest J. King. King's overriding aim was to prevent the "Europe-first" principle of coalition strategy from unduly inhibiting the conduct of the war against Japan. Subject to this consideration, King supported the primacy of the cross-channel invasion preparations over operations in the Mediterranean, but only so long as and to the extent that he saw a good prospect of finishing off the European war in a reasonably short time, leaving the United States free to get on with the war

[17] Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 9; Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, 151–54; Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942*, 97–126.

[18] Quoted in Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, 137; see also Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942*, Chap. III; Watson, *Chief of Staff*, Chap. XI; William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941* (New York, 1953), 735–42. US military planners were critical of British strategy in 1941, but primarily with reference to British hopes for an early US entry into the war and to undue dispersion of British forces in the Middle and Far East. For British ideas of a continental invasion, see Sir Winston Churchill's description in December 1941, in *The Grand Alliance* (Boston, Mass., 1950), 655–58, and the original British ROUNDUP plan described by Harrison in *Cross-Channel Attack*, 6–9.

[19] *Ibid.*, 9; Butler, *Grand Strategy*, II, 423–27, 547.

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against Japan. For the Pacific, meanwhile, he demanded security, at the minimum, "against any attack that the Japanese are capable of launching against us"[20]—something not easy to guarantee in 1942. From mid-1942 King insisted, further, on an allotment of resources sufficient to sustain a rising scale of offensive effort, lest Japan consolidate its conquests and make its empire impregnable.

For the most part, Marshall supported King's demands for the Pacific, partly, no doubt, as a *quid pro quo* for King's support of his own cross-channel strategy. But, like King, Marshall also regarded the TORCH decision as the first step in a "defensive, encircling line of action" in Europe that might continue indefinitely.[21] Rather than embark upon it, he had even joined King in urging the President to shift the main effort to the Pacific—advice the President promptly rejected, with evident displeasure.[22] Thereafter Marshall gradually became more receptive to a forward strategy in the Mediterranean, but only within the framework of a limited allotment of resources. King's expanding Pacific war was little hampered, in fact, by competition from Europe. For it was an ironic paradox that during 1943 the "Europe-first" principle of coalition strategy meant in practice a guaranteed, that is, fixed allotment of resources to Europe, which, in the growing abundance of American production, permitted an expanding allotment to the Pacific. At the TRIDENT Conference in May 1943, King succeeded in having his principle of an expanding Pacific war formally ratified as coalition strategy.[23]

The other major influence on American strategy was that of the President.[24] As commander in chief, Roosevelt was the supreme American strategy maker when he chose to play the role. He was thus an essential part of the strategy-making process, not an influence external to it, a fact sometimes obscured in staff oriented accounts of World War II strategy. Not merely did he make high military policy—unconditional surrender, for example, or the almost equally unconditional assistance to the Soviet Union

[20] Statement made in May 1942 on the eve of the Coral Sea-Midway crisis, quoted in Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, 383; see also King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 390–91, 395, 398, 400.

[21] Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942*, 279–80.

[22] *Ibid.*, 267–73; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, 425; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 602; King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 397–99.

[23] This episode is described in Coakley and Leighton, "Global Logistics, 1943–1945," MS, Chap. III; see also Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, 136; Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 515–16; King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King*, 441.

[24] For recent interpretations of Roosevelt's role as commander in chief, see Feis, *Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin;* William R. Emerson's essay in *The Ultimate Decision: The President as Commander in Chief*, ed. Ernest R. May (New York, 1960); and Maurice Matloff's essay in *Total War and Cold War: Problems in Civilian Control of the Military*, ed. Harry L. Coles (Columbus, Ohio, 1962). I have also been privileged to read in manuscript an essay on this subject in a forthcoming volume by Kent R. Greenfield.

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—that set limits to and imposed directions on strategic choice in all war arenas. At lower levels of strategic decision, as Greenfield has reminded us, he overruled his military advisers' judgment on some thirteen separate, significant occasions after Pearl Harbor.[25] The most conspicuous of these was, of course, his dramatic intervention in July 1942, first, to prevent a shift of emphasis to the Pacific, and, then, to thrust his "great, secret baby," TORCH, into the reluctant arms of the military.

During 1943 Roosevelt continued, though unobtrusively, to guide the American adjustment to the consequences of TORCH. He saw to it that all possibilities for fruitful action in the Mediterranean were fairly and carefully considered by his military advisers, including an invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and landings on the Adriatic side of the Balkans.[26] He knew, as William Emerson has observed, "how to decide issues by ignoring them, understanding that in war . . . indecision decides by default."[27] As long as his advisers moved in the general direction he desired, he was content to hold aloof, permitting them the illusion that *they* had persuaded *him*. When they strayed, decision might take the form of simply allowing them to get out on a limb too weak to hold them.

Nor was his vision less steady than Churchill's or Marshall's. It cannot be shown, for example, that he "decided" in spring of 1943 (as one interpretation has it)[28] to support a cross-channel as against a Mediterranean strategy, because there is no evidence that he had ever abandoned the principle that a decisive cross-channel invasion was the paramount objective of Allied strategy in Europe.[29] He did grasp, earlier than his advisers, the necessity of reshaping the invasion concept to fit its new context.[30] Perceiving the service that a positive Mediterranean strategy in 1943 could render to a decisive Channel crossing in 1944, he refused to elevate the doctrine of cross-channel primacy to the level of Holy Writ. Above all, he showed a concern for the alliance with Great Britain, based on respect for the vital interests of the British, that his advisers might well have emulated.[31]

[25] *Ibid.*, appendix.

[26] In November 1942 Roosevelt had suggested to the Combined Chiefs of Staff that they examine possibilities for "forward movement" in the Mediterranean, including the Balkans. (See Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942,* 363; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944,* 163–64, 359–61; Leahy, *I Was There,* 165–66.)

[27] William R. Emerson, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt as Commander in Chief in World War II," *Military Affairs,* XXII (Winter 1958–59), 196.

[28] Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944,* 125.

[29] Like Churchill, Roosevelt had not at first considered that the North African operation would necessarily rule out a 1943 ROUNDUP. By November 1942 he seems to have conceded the probability that the cross-channel invasion would have to be deferred to 1944. (See Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning, 1941–1942,* 326–27.)

[30] See below, page 933.

[31] For example, he consistently supported British requests for American shipping to bolster domestic imports and military operations, against the advice of the military. (See Richard M.

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The adjustment of American strategy to the consequences of TORCH in 1943 can be traced most simply by considering in turn its two major sectors, the Mediterranean and Northwestern Europe. Adjustment came more easily in the former. Indeed, once committed to North Africa, American strategists found it increasingly difficult to deny the merits of further advances in the Mediterranean, in order to hold the strategic initiative and to maintain momentum, to keep Spain and other neutrals in line, to clear a passage for shipping to Suez, to knock out Italy, to pin down, disperse, and bleed German forces or attract them from other fronts.

In any case, there was no real alternative. An adequate build-up for a 1943 ROUNDUP and for the air offensive that must precede it was ruled out by lack of shipping and the mounting demands of the Pacific and other theaters.[32] The only practicable way to hit Germany directly from the west in 1943 was by a sustained strategic air offensive, and this the Allied leaders ordered at Casablanca in January. But if ROUNDUP must be postponed, what then was to be done with the considerable forces that would be released by the expected victory in North Africa? The shipping required to move them back to England would serve equally well to move an equivalent force to the same destination from the large pool of troops in training in the United States, making a net addition to the total forces deployed in Europe. Only one clear purpose could be served by closing down the Mediterranean front in 1943: to avoid involvement in ventures that might prove costly and suck in additional resources for their support. This consideration weighed heavily with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. But even if such a course had been militarily feasible, it was not a politically practicable alternative. The British, with preponderant forces in the theater, had tasted victory after a long train of defeats, and were not now to be denied.

When the American military leaders went to the Casablanca Conference in January 1943, they had not agreed on a course of action.[33] Roosevelt, receptive to further advances in the Mediterranean, let matters take their course. The result was the decisions to invade Sicily the following summer and to postpone a major cross-channel invasion, hopefully no more than a year. Neither decision was seriously opposed by the American military chiefs. Until mid-1943 American strategy in this theater remained cautious, awaiting the outcome of operations in Tunisia and Sicily and holding back from any commitment to invade Italy. At the TRIDENT Conference in

Leighton, "U. S. Merchant Shipping and the British Import Crisis," in *Command Decisions*, ed. Greenfield.)

[32] See Leighton and Coakley, *Global Logistics, 1940–1943*, Chaps. xxv, xxvi.

[33] Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 38.

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May the Americans secured reluctant British agreement to two provisos that they regarded as the *sine qua non* of limited liability in the Mediterranean: a prohibition against further reinforcing of that theater and the earmarking of certain forces for transfer to England later in the year.[34]

Then, in July and August 1943, came the long-awaited Italian debacle in Sicily, heralding the Italian government's imminent withdrawal from the war. American opposition to an invasion of Italy quickly evaporated, clearing the way for the Allied landings on the peninsula early in September. From the general optimism emerged, in July and early August, a potent "revolt" among the staffs and joint committees, with overtones of presidential support, against the Channel centered strategy, demanding a major effort in the Mediterranean to transform Italy's collapse into a general Axis rout. The "revolt" itself was short lived. Nevertheless, the party line laid down by the Joint Chiefs early in August was not a simple reaffirmation of the old orthodoxy, but a new synthesis of Mediterranean and cross-channel strategy. For the first time, American strategists could envisage a continuation of Mediterranean offensives through the following winter and spring, along with the mounting combined bombing campaign against Germany. The new concept centered in a drive up the Italian Peninsula that would turn westward to link up with another force landing in southern France, followed by a push up the Rhone Valley to a junction in spring of 1944 with the main invasion army advancing eastward from Normandy.[35]

This fair vision faded quickly enough as Allied armies bogged down in southern Italy in October 1943. American strategy was, nevertheless, committed from now on to the maintenance of a major front in the Mediterranean, with its center of gravity in Italy. The strength of the commitment can be measured by the promptness with which the American Joint Chiefs rejected Stalin's demand, at Tehran in November, that the Italian campaign be suspended in order to permit full concentration on preparations for OVERLORD. At the same time, they took up the Soviet Premier's proposal for

[34] *Ibid.*, 70. Late in June the President suggested to the JCS the possibility of an invasion of Spain, in the event Portugal were attacked by Germany. Though supported by Leahy, the idea was opposed by the JCS, and evidently Roosevelt did not press it. (See Leahy, *I Was There*, 165–66.)

[35] Coakley and Leighton, "Global Logistics, 1943–1945," MS, Chaps. VII, VIII; Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 93–94; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, 165–67, 175. As early as July 3, General Henry H. Arnold, the US Army Air Forces member of the JCS, had proposed an invasion of Italy to gain air bases in the north for bombing southern Germany. (*Ibid.*, 155.) It was a mark of its optimistic character that the new strategic synthesis of early August 1943 did not envisage any addition to existing forces in the Mediterranean. On the eve of the Quebec Conference that month, however, the President proposed and was with difficulty dissuaded by Marshall from ordering that the seven divisions about to be withdrawn from the Mediterranean for OVERLORD be replaced by fresh divisions from the United States. (*Ibid.*, 211–15.)

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a right-flank complement to OVERLORD in southern France (ANVIL).[36] In the following months, preparations for the latter undertaking competed so seriously with operations in Italy that the US Chiefs, under British pressure, reluctantly allowed it to be suspended in the spring. ANVIL was eventually carried out on August 15, after the Normandy landings and after the Germans had been pushed back to northern Italy.[37] Too late to support OVERLORD as originally intended, it blended into the main front in eastern France. American Mediterranean strategy remained centered in Italy.

American adjustment in the Mediterranean stopped short at the Adriatic and the eastern capes of Sicily. The area to the east, which staff papers often alluded to indiscriminately as "the Balkans," was regarded by American strategists with something akin to the superstitious dread with which medieval mariners once contemplated the unknown monster infested reaches of the Western Ocean. Beyond this, all the American leaders and their staffs seemingly believed, despite repeated British denials, that the British planned somehow to embroil themselves and their Allies in a major land campaign on the Balkan Peninsula. Such an undertaking, Americans were convinced, would suck in Allied resources on a huge scale, with disastrous consequences for OVERLORD.[38]

American strategists were obliged, nevertheless, to recognize the eastern Mediterranean as an active sector of the war and a sphere of vital British interests. They had sanctioned Anglo-Turkish agreements in spring of 1943 looking to eventual Turkish intervention in the war, and in the autumn they grudgingly supported an unsuccessful and costly British attempt to break the German hold on the Aegean Islands controlling access to the Dardanelles. On the eve of the Cairo-Tehran Conferences in November 1943 the Americans fully expected that the British, with Soviet support, would demand the opening of a major new front in the eastern Mediterranean.[39]

The dénouement was anticlimactic. What the British actually proposed was only a revival of their modest Aegean project, for which they now hoped

[36] See Richard M. Leighton, "Overlord vs. the Mediterranean at the Cairo-Tehran Conferences," in *Command Decisions*, ed. Greenfield.

[37] Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, Chaps. v, vi, viii; Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 164–73; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, Chaps. xviii, xxi; Pogue, *Supreme Command*, Chaps. vi, xii; Sir Winston Churchill, *Closing the Ring* (Boston, 1951), Bk. 2, and *Hinge of Fate* (Boston, 1953), Chaps. iv, vi, and p. 100.

[38] See King and Whitehill, *Fleet Admiral King;* Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* and Leahy, *I Was There*, all of which reflect the contemporary American view. For contrasting analyses from the British and US viewpoints, respectively, see Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, 112–13 and appendix, 554–56, and Maurice Matloff, "The Anvil Decision," in *Command Decisions*, ed. Greenfield, 397–99.

[39] Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, 75–105; Leighton, "Overlord vs. the Mediterranean," 262–64; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, 303–306.

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to enlist Turkish support. At Tehran, to the vast relief of the Americans, Stalin failed to back the scheme. His attitude, however, once the limited character of the proposed operation was made clear to him, was one of indifference rather than hostility. The American military chiefs, with tepid support from the President, opposed the Aegean venture as a potential threat to OVERLORD. It was not their opposition, however, that killed the plan—for it emerged intact from the conferences—but the Turks themselves, who decided shortly thereafter not to risk German vengeance by openly allying themselves with the Western Powers at this time.[40] By Christmas 1943 Churchill had written finis to his Aegean scheme, and in Washington an anonymous staff officer scribbled an exultant epitaph: "The PM has *quit*!"[41]

The most painful part of the American adjustment to the consequences of TORCH in 1943 was that involved in replacing the one-front ROUNDUP model of the Channel crossing with one better adapted to a multifront war. Through late 1942 and the early months of 1943 the planners in Washington and London were building even bigger and better models, influenced in part by the lessons drawn from the disastrous landings at Dieppe in August 1942. Then, in spring of 1943, as the German U-boat offensive in the Atlantic reached its climax—the final climax, as it proved—it became clear that under existing construction programs there would not be enough shipping, either ocean-going or amphibious, to undertake a cross-channel invasion in spring of 1944 on anything like the scale of ROUNDUP, much less the newer models. Barring major increases and readjustments in ship construction programs, the operation would either have to be postponed, possibly until 1945, or it must be cut to the cloth of prospective resources.[42]

Facing this agonizing choice, the Joint Chiefs of Staff simply refused to make it. They ordered no increases in ship or landing craft production, and, on the eve of the TRIDENT Conference in May, stubbornly took their stand on a ROUNDUP (that is, a big) operation scheduled for spring 1944. It was a futile gesture, and the President characteristically made his own decision, in his own way. At the opening plenary meeting of the TRIDENT Conference he broadly hinted that, if an invasion were to be mounted in 1944, it was as likely to be a SLEDGEHAMMER (that is, a small operation) as a ROUNDUP. He thus left his military advisers in the uncomfortable position of urging upon the British an operation supported neither by their own commander in chief nor by prospective logistical capabilities. Not sur-

[40] Leighton, "Overlord vs. the Mediterranean," 284 *et passim*.
[41] Pencil note dated Dec. 30, 1943, in OPD files, cited in Coakley and Leighton, "Global Logistics, 1943–1945," MS, Chap. XIII, 48.
[42] *Ibid.*, Chap. III.

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prisingly, the Joint Chiefs fell back to more tenable ground. ROUNDUP gave way to ROUNDHAMMER (predecessor to OVERLORD), a medium-scale Channel crossing, with a target date of May 1, 1944, rigorously tailored to estimated build-up capabilities and prospective amphibious lift. Air power, it was now hopefully argued, would compensate for weakness on the ground.[43]

Yet few experts, American or British, regarded the ROUNDHAMMER prescription of a three-division initial assault with a two-division follow-up as adequate to breach Hitler's Atlantic wall. The British, their own production capacity strained to the utmost, steadily pressed the Americans to expand their output of landing craft, or to divert craft from other theaters, in order to provide the wherewithal for a stronger assault. The US Chiefs of Staff, despite their self-assigned role as champions of a decisive cross-channel attack, held firm, and in August 1943 ROUNDHAMMER's basic dimensions were carried over into the new OVERLORD plan.[44]

Admiral King held the key to the American position, since landing craft were navy equipment and General Marshall needed his support on European strategy. King's dilemma was real. Until mid-1943 antisubmarine vessel construction held priorities and pre-empted facilities that precluded a major expansion of landing craft production. In October and November, after much backing and filling by navy officials, a big new landing craft program was finally launched, but it was aimed at the requirements of the Pacific war and was not expected to produce sufficient numbers of critical types in time to benefit OVERLORD. In any case, King was convinced that the British had no intention of ever going through with OVERLORD except under conditions of virtual German collapse. He argued that if the British could not be pinned down to an unequivocal commitment to OVERLORD, on a fixed date and without reservations, the United States should turn away from Europe and go all-out against Japan. As long as this issue remained unsettled, King was unwilling to commit large numbers of landing craft to Europe for an undertaking he feared might never be carried out.[45]

King was able to carry his colleagues with him. Roosevelt kept his own counsel and for the most part held aloof from the debate, though the evidence suggests that he intervened at the Quebec Conference in August to prevent a showdown on the question of British loyalty to OVERLORD.[46]

[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 71–82.
[45] Leighton, "Overlord vs. the Mediterranean," 359–61.
[46] Roosevelt's arrival at Quebec a few days after the conference began coincided with the backing down of the US Chiefs of Staff on their demand that OVERLORD preparations be

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But the American "hard line" contained a built-in contradiction. On the one hand, the Joint Chiefs held out against any strengthening of the OVERLORD assault, and, in defiance of the "Europe-first" principle of coalition strategy, refused to give OVERLORD priorities for troops or matériel over the requirements of the expanding Pacific war. Simultaneously, they were accusing the British of being "soft" on OVERLORD and stigmatized as evidence of perfidy or weak resolve any British expression of anxiety over its chances of success or suggestion to postpone its target date in the interests of current operations in the Mediterranean.[47]

At the Cairo-Tehran Conferences in November 1943 the British brought the issue to a head by challenging American insistence on the "sanctity" of OVERLORD, particularly its target date of May 1, 1944.[48] Asserting, as they had often asserted before, their determination to carry out OVERLORD in spring or early summer of 1944 if the situation at that time offered a reasonable chance of success, according to criteria specified in the OVERLORD plan and agreed to by the Americans, they declared they were unwilling to accept setbacks or miss opportunities in the Mediterranean now merely in order to ensure that the OVERLORD target date would be met. More specifically, they proposed, as we have seen, to carry out a small-scale operation against the Aegean Islands early in 1944, accepting the probable cost: a postponement of OVERLORD for six to eight weeks.

To the Joint Chiefs of Staff so short a postponement could not have appeared alarming in itself. What did alarm them, apart from their anxiety regarding involvement in a new "Balkan" venture, was the loophole for further postponements they saw in the British proposal, together with the emphasis the British placed on the likelihood that in spring of 1944 a full-dress OVERLORD might prove to be either unnecessary or infeasible. To the JCS this looked like confirmation of all their suspicions.

At this juncture the President intervened with a disconcerting decision. The British had suggested, as an alternative to postponing OVERLORD, the withdrawal of certain amphibious shipping from India that was earmarked for a tentatively postponed attack on the Andaman Islands off the Burma coast. But Roosevelt, anxious to bolster the waning fortunes of the

given an overriding priority over the Mediterranean. (Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, 98; Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, 223.)

[47] Leighton, "Overlord vs. the Mediterranean," 262–63.

[48] For this account of the Cairo-Tehran Conferences, see *ibid.*, 264–65, and Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, V, Chaps. IV, V. A contrasting interpretation is in Matloff, *Strategic Planning, 1943–1944*, Chap. XVI. Most of the important documents are in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers. The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943* (Washington, D. C., 1961).

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Chinese Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-shek, promised him, without consulting the Joint Chiefs, that some amphibious operation in the Bay of Bengal would be undertaken. This eliminated the option of using the Andamans assault vessels for the proposed Aegean operation, leaving the Joint Chiefs facing a choice between a brief postponement of OVERLORD and a confrontation with the British over a minor undertaking the latter were clearly determined to carry out.

There are strong indications that both the President and his military advisers were reconciled to a postponement of OVERLORD before they left Cairo for the "Big Three" conference with the Russians at Tehran.[49] Contrary to expectations, Stalin came out emphatically in favor of OVERLORD as the paramount undertaking for 1944. He was, however, neither sufficiently averse to minor ventures in the Mediterranean nor sufficiently definite as to OVERLORD's target date to prevent Churchill from gaining virtually all he had asked: postponement of OVERLORD (for one month rather than two) and reluctant ratification of his Aegean project. At the follow-up conference back at Cairo, he was able to persuade Roosevelt to renege on his promise to Chiang and cancel the ill-starred Andamans operation. This ensured the availability of the Andamans assault shipping in the Mediterranean by late winter of 1944.

The price of these concessions, according to virtually all postwar accounts, was a firm British commitment to go through with OVERLORD. A full discussion of this thesis lies beyond the scope of the present paper. Yet it may be pointed out here that the thesis rests upon an unproved premise, that American suspicions of British bad faith regarding OVERLORD were well founded. The evidence we have shows merely that the position of British leaders on OVERLORD was the same at the end of the Cairo-Tehran Conferences as it had been before, namely, that they would carry out the operation as planned provided it had a reasonable chance of success. OVERLORD's stock stood high at the end of 1943, but primarily because administrative preparations by then had progressed beyond the point of no return. Its prospects were also improved by two decisions taken at the conferences. The first, a direct response to Stalin's initial demand, was that OVERLORD and its southern France appendage, ANVIL, would be the "supreme" operations for 1944, not merely in Europe but in the *whole* war, world-wide—a reversal of the old American insistence on equal priority for the war in the Pacific. The second decision, vindicating the long-standing British plea for a stronger OVERLORD, was that the staffs should re-examine the amphibious lift requirements for these two operations. This was the first step in a pro-

[49] Leighton, "Overlord vs. the Mediterranean," 270–71.

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longed and acrimonious recalculation of resources that was to lead, four months later, to the allotment of most of ANVIL's small complement of assault shipping to strengthen OVERLORD.

With the decisions of the Cairo-Tehran Conferences, the adjustment of American strategy to the consequences of TORCH came to an end. Since Pearl Harbor the only significant discontinuity in its evolution had been the short-lived attempt in the BOLERO-ROUNDUP plan, to cast Western strategy in Europe in the mold of a one-front war. BOLERO-ROUNDUP was an aberration, a one-front strategy in a multifront war, a resort to force without finesse when finesse was most needed to make up for lack of force. For all the potency of the legend it left behind, its real impact on Allied strategy was slight.

The central concept of American strategy in Europe was the conviction that Germany could be defeated in the long run only by a major thrust across the English Channel leading to battles of decision in northern France and Germany. Yet American strategists had to recognize the imperatives of a multifront coalition war, which could not await the methodical crushing of Germany between a greater millstone in Russia and a lesser one in northern France, even assuming that neither would crack in the process. American resources had meanwhile to be dispersed all around the globe to support the war efforts of the Soviet Union, China, and the British Empire, and to expand the American war in the Pacific, to a scale which by mid-1944 was not much smaller than that in Europe.

Even in the "peripheral" Mediterranean, most American strategists eventually came to perceive the value of an opportunism that contributed heavily to the success of OVERLORD, and, in the process, saved millions of tons of shipping, eliminated Germany's principal partner, kept Spain and Turkey in line, and wasted good German divisions and air squadrons in Italy and the Balkans. The Allied resources required to do all this could not have been profitably employed elsewhere; as carried out, OVERLORD represented a maximum effort in terms of the capacities of British ports, internal transport, and administrative facilities. The cross-channel invasion, when it came, was no "mop-up"—it was never intended to be[50]—but neither was it a reincarnate ROUNDUP. OVERLORD was, in fact, a logical consummation of the coalition design of "closing and tightening the ring" about Hitler's Europe.

[50] See Greenfield, *Historian and the Army*, 44. The theory that the British planned to undertake OVERLORD only against negligible opposition is unproved. This "mop-up" concept was embodied in the purely precautionary RANKIN plans for exploiting a sudden German collapse before or after D day.

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The Changing Outlines of 1848

PETER AMANN*

FOR over 110 years the French Revolution of 1848 has proved a source of embarrassment to historians. A certain awkwardness clung to early accounts by narrators who had themselves played a part in the Revolution, since their apologies were chiefly concerned with shifting the blame for the demise of the regime. Later generations of republican historians faced other difficulties: committed as they were to the French revolutionary tradition, they found the undeniable failure of 1848 hard to explain without dishonoring the prophets of the tradition or questioning the efficacy of revolution as a means of social change. The Revolution proved little more grateful to conservatives. Beside the Great Revolution, 1848 seems a pale example of revolutionary violence. It can be ridiculed, but humor is frowned upon in scholarly circles. The best that conservatives could do was to look upon the Second Republic with "hopefulness and sorrow": hope, because France had managed to survive even this crisis; sorrow, because chance and force had prevailed over all "patriotic efforts."[1] At the other end of the political spectrum, the current Marxist-Leninist position is even more uncomfortable. To maintain that the proletarian revolution failed because economic and class conditions had not yet matured,[2] the Communist historian must close his eyes to the fact that France's social evolution in 1848 was probably as "advanced" as Russia's in November 1917. To judge from a random sample of modern European history texts,[3] American historians also tend to face 1848 with ambivalence, which may reflect current United States distaste for revolution on one hand, support of political democracy on the other.

In the face of this multitude of ambiguities, no authoritative synthesis of the Revolution has emerged: 1848, for example, has produced no equiv-

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1 Pierre de la Gorce, *Histoire de la Seconde République* (2 vols., Paris, 1887), I, ii.

2 Jean Dautry, *1848 et la Deuxième République* (2d ed., Paris, 1957), 8.

3 Preston Slosson, *Europe Since 1815* (New York, 1954), 34–37; Robert Ergang, *Europe Since Waterloo* (2d ed., Boston, 1961), 58–62; Walter P. Hall and William S. David, *The Course of Europe Since Waterloo* (4th ed., New York, 1957), 87–94; Gordon A. Craig, *Europe Since 1815* (New York, 1961), 129–32, 139–41; R. R. Palmer, *A History of the Modern World* (2d ed., New York, 1959), 470–76. Among these brief accounts, Palmer's stands out as the best, Slosson's the worst.

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alent of Georges Lefebvre's *The French Revolution*. Nonetheless, a surprising number of significant monographic studies have appeared,[4] although in this country they are little known beyond a handful of specialists. This article is addressed to a broader circle of modern European historians who may be interested in new interpretations of the Second Republic suggested by such recent research.

As a matter of convenience, I shall present these interpretations as modifications of certain stock views that have colored the over-all appraisal of the Second Republic. The first two are part of the "spirit of 1848," of a certain climate of opinion and style of living: the generosity of the revolutionary masses; and the romantic incapacity of its leadership. Two other stereotypes focus on the character and structure of the Revolution itself: the Revolution as class conflict; and the Revolution as a purely urban, if not Parisian, phenomenon. I wish to suggest that these clichés are neither completely groundless, nor are they universally accepted. They will, however, be sufficiently familiar to historians of modern Europe to justify this point of departure.

Against the broad background of what some historians have called "the springtime of the peoples," the generosity and selflessness of the French revolutionary masses have been standard fixtures. Louis Blanc's own description of

> one hundred thousand workers, armed from head to foot yet starving, guarded Paris with heroic devotion. The blood-thirsty followers of the red flag who were then in control of the streets made sure that no one would so much as lose a hair. The homes of the rich were guarded by the poor and men in rags stood watch at the doors of those who slandered them . . .[5]

has set the tone, though its rhetoric may make us squirm. In an attenuated form, these sentiments can be found in many of the semipopular accounts inspired by the centenary.[6] I do not want to suggest that this interpretation is pure invention. Once the fighting was over, the victors were good natured enough in contrast to the lynch spirit that had characterized the Parisian populace nearly sixty years earlier after the capture of the Bastille. No revolutionary terror, formal or informal, no September massacres or revolutionary tribunals followed in the wake of the February Days. Postinsurrectionary vandalism was hard on Paris street lights but easy on private property and on persons. Historians like to cite the low crime rate in the spring of 1848

[4] For a systematic survey of the literature published since the centenary, see Peter Amann, "Recent Writings on the Second French Republic," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXIV (No. 4, 1962), 409–29.

[5] Louis Blanc, *Révélations historiques* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1859), I, 134.

[6] E.g., Jean Bruhat, *Les Journées de février 1848* (Paris, 1948), 73–74; Henri Guillemin, *La tragédie de Quarante-huit* (Geneva, 1948), 90–92; Jean Cassou, *Le Quarante-huitard* (Paris, 1948), 18–21 *et passim*.

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as further evidence of revolutionary self-restraint. It should be noted, however, that Marc Caussidière, the revolutionary police prefect, credited this achievement less to mass idealism than to the efficiency of his improvised police force.[7] The oft-quoted remark by Marche, speaking for the Paris working class in February 1848, offering three more months of misery as the workers' contribution to the Republic, though probably apocryphal, is at least satisfyingly symbolic of the patience and moderation of the revolutionary masses.[8] Yet these same workers, patient where their own interests were concerned, could not contain their generous anger when the cause of Polish liberty seemed at stake in May.

How should this somewhat rosy picture be shaded? Perhaps one might begin by questioning the depth of such international democratic solidarity. It must be remembered that 1848 marked the renewal of severe economic crisis accentuated by the February Days themselves. In the midst of widespread unemployment arose a strong nativist reaction against foreign workers who were pre-empting "French jobs." The only two nationalities who enjoyed genuine popular esteem throughout this period, the Irish and the Poles, were not important: the Irish because they were inconspicuous in France; the Poles, who were of predominantly upper-class extraction, because they engaged in other than manual occupations. The "liberation armies," composed of German, Italian, and Belgian residents in France and organized on French soil, were encouraged by the authorities less for motives of international solidarity than because this armed exodus rid the country of an unwanted labor force of aliens.[9] In Rouen news of the Parisian revolution had set off working-class demonstrations with cries of "Long live the Republic! Down with the English!"[10] The subsequent mass expulsion of English skilled workers and technicians from the Rouen area occasioned indignant if ineffectual outcries in the British Parliament.[11] While the expulsion of the

[7] Marc Caussidière, *Memoirs of Citizen Caussidière, ex-Preject of Police and Representative of the People* (2 vols., London, 1848), I, 187–89.

[8] Donald C. McKay, *The National Workshops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 9–11.

[9] Caussidière, *Memoirs,* I, 198, Chap. XI, *passim.* For the ambiguous attitude of the authorities toward the Belgian "liberation army" in particular, see Marcel Dessal, "Les incidents franco-belges en 1848," *Actes du Congrès historique du Centenaire* (Paris, 1948), 107–13, and Alvin R. Calman, "L'échauffourée de risquons-tout," *1848,* XVII (No. 83, 1920), 44–50. For the experience of the German exiles, see Emma Herwegh, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen demokratischen Legion aus Paris," in *Briefe von und an Georg Herwegh,* ed. Marcel Herwegh (Munich, 1896), 146–51; Victor Fleury, *Le Poète Georges Herwegh (1817–1875)* (Paris, 1911), 139. Alphonse de Lamartine's attitude can be seen in the Marquis of Normanby, *A Year of Revolution in Paris* (2 vols., London, 1857), I, 257–58.

[10] P. Deyon, "Aspects industriels de la crise: Rouen," *Études, Société d'histoire de la Révolution de 1848,* XIX (1956), 154.

[11] Thomas C. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates,* 3d Ser. (356 vols., London, 1830–91), XCVII, 336–37, 458. For the response of the British ambassador in France, see Normanby, *Year of Revolution,* I, 230–31, 256, 263–65, 376–77.

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English eliminated an industrial aristocracy of the Norman textile industry and the French railroads, the agitation against the unskilled Flemings who occupied the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the department of Nord was no less vocal, even though in this instance mass deportations were avoided.[12] In Lyons native silkworkers expelled their Savoyard "brethren."[13] In sum, virulent xenophobia, feeding on economic insecurity, was more characteristic of the urban masses than was any sentiment of international fraternity.

A second modification must be made in the overidealization of the *peuple* by considering the widespread popular outbreaks against the nascent machine age, outbreaks that may have surpassed the scope of the earlier and much better-known Luddite riots in England. At least three forms of this industrial sabotage (it is perhaps no accident that the word is of French coinage) were by-products of the French Revolution of 1848: in Paris bands of unemployed printers smashed the mechanical printing presses on which they blamed their plight, demanding the reintroduction of hand presses. After several days of machine breaking, organized printing workers themselves took the lead in putting a stop to the movement.[14] Secondly, on a much vaster scale, the recently built railway lines radiating from Paris came under attack by mobs led by teamsters, innkeepers, and others whose livelihood the railroads had endangered.[15] While the violence was particularly widespread in the Paris outskirts, it expanded along the two major lines to Normandy and the Belgian frontier and was marked by burning railroad trestles and station houses. Thirdly, in a number of textile centers stretching from Normandy to Champagne, factory workers, probably encouraged by the owners of obsolete workshops, broke up power machinery and in some cases set the mills on fire.[16]

What picture emerges when this underside of the Revolution is taken into consideration? The traditional interpretation of the revolutionaries, which laid stress on their forbearance and idealism, remains partly valid and becomes even more creditable in the light of a recent analysis of nine-

[12] F. Lentacker, "Les ouvriers belges dans le département du Nord au milieu du XIX^e siècle," *Revue du Nord,* XXXVIII (No. 149, 1956), 5–14. For the governmental attitude in this instance, see Marcel Dessal, "Un commissaire de Ledru-Rollin dans le département du Nord en 1848: Charles Delescluze," *ibid.,* XXXI (No. 121, 1949), 19–20.

[13] *Le Journal d'un bourgeois de Lyons,* ed. Justin Godart (Paris, 1924), 59, 66–71; *id., À Lyons, en 1848: Les Voraces* (Paris, 1948), 43–47.

[14] The most complete account of these incidents is in Paul Chauvet, *Les ouvriers du livre en France de 1789 à la constitution de la Fédération du Livre* (Paris, 1956), 174–77.

[15] The most detailed account for the Parisian Basin is found in Louis Chevalier, "Les fondements économiques et sociaux de l'histoire politique dans la région parisienne," unpublished *thèse ès lettres,* University of Paris, 1950, 189–92. See also Deyon, "Aspects industriels," 155.

[16] *Ibid.;* Chevalier, "Fondements," 193–94.

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teenth-century Paris. The "laboring poor" of Paris, the demographer Louis Chevalier maintains, lived in conditions of such degradation that they became indistinguishable from the criminal classes.[17] On the whole the restrained behavior of the workers in 1848 does not bear out Chevalier's contentions. Yet historians must also recognize that the Revolution of 1848 was more than a fraternal banquet: it unleashed a wave of violence that sought to redress social grievances which had nothing to do with revolutionary ideology. It would indeed have been astounding if, after two years of bread shortage and unemployment, the "people" had really played the role of plaster saints *en blouse* assigned to them by republican mythology.

Much has been made of the ineffectiveness of the revolutionary leaders of 1848, their imitativeness, their verbosity, their bombast. No less a historian than Georges Lefebvre, in a Sorbonne lecture delivered in 1946,[18] contrasted the realism of the eighteenth-century revolutionaries steeped in classicism *cum* science with the sick romanticism of the generation of 1848 which unfitted its members for constructive action. Charles Pouthas has similarly viewed the Revolution of 1848, not merely in terms of the inadequate performance of specific figures or of circumstance, but as an indictment of the psychology of a whole generation.[19] No doubt the revolutionaries of 1848 did fail, and perhaps the harsh words are fully justified. One may speculate, however, whether those revolutionaries who were carried away on the night of August 4, 1789, or the Bolsheviks who began their governmental career by abolishing the death penalty were any less "messianic"—to use J. L. Talmon's terminology—than the leaders of 1848. Perhaps the difference between these eighteenth- and twentieth-century romantic idealists on one hand, and the "forty-eighters" on the other, was that the former were given an opportunity to learn through experience, whereas in 1848 such opportunity was cut short by the disaster of the June insurrection.

Even were we to admit the romantic incapacity of the revolutionary leadership, the militant rank and file of revolution cannot be accused of romanticism. Gustave Flaubert, who had made a point of going to Paris on February 23 in order to study the Revolution "in its artistic aspect,"[20] has

[17] *Id., Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du* XIX^e *siècle* (Paris, 1958), *passim*.

[18] Georges Lefebvre, "Le 24 février 1848," *1848,* XXXVII (No. 173, 1946), 15.

[19] Charles Pouthas, "La Révolution de 1848 en France et la Seconde République" (mimeographed *cours de Sorbonne,* Paris [1952]), 240.

[20] See Alexis François, "Gustave Flaubert, Maxime du Camp et la Révolution de 1848," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de France,* LIII (No. 1, 1953), 44–56, which stresses Flaubert's deliberate personal inspection. Gilbert Guisan, "Flaubert et la Révolution de 1848," *ibid.,* LVIII (No. 2, 1958), 183–204, stresses Flaubert's debt to historians and memoir writers of 1848.

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left us some brilliant satirical pages in his *Sentimental Education*.[21] To cite but one instance, for a reader of Flaubert it is difficult to view the revolutionary club movement in Paris on any but the novelist's terms: mild pandemonium, a touch of pathos, and total lunacy.

It may be that in the France of 1848 objective conditions were such that any revolution with social overtones was bound to fail. If one accepts this kind of metaphysical determinism, the actual behavior of the revolutionary leadership becomes quite irrelevant. If, on the other hand, the revolutionary situation is viewed as presenting a range of possibilities, Flaubert's picture of the popular politics of the time is misleading in its implications. If the new mass democracy, of which the clubs were symbolic, had a chance of success, its failure cannot be ascribed to its romantic Alice in Wonderland qualities.[22] The political clubs sought to fill three not always compatible roles. First, through lectures, speeches, and discussion they sought to indoctrinate a semi-literate electorate in the traditions of the republican movement—a task that, as Flaubert demonstrated, was tailor made for mordant satire. Secondly, the clubs inherited the ideal of direct democracy through popular pressure from the *sociétés populaires* of the Great Revolution. Finally, and this was by far their most time-absorbing activity, the clubs turned themselves into electoral and party machines that would give direction to the 300,000 Parisian voters in particular and the 10,000,000 French voters in general who had been turned loose without direction, organization, or political experience.

Despite the romantic stereotype, the study of surviving club minutes[23] has persuaded me that their political drive failed, not because their leaders and membership wallowed in murky generalities, but because they became so completely immersed in the manipulative techniques of mass democracy that they failed to consider middle-range objectives behind which the voters could be marshaled. Contrary to historical folklore, most clubs went much too far in being down to earth: the minutes are filled with eternal discussion of the registration and enrollment of National Guards, with voter registration and voting procedures, with the scrutiny and nomination of officer

[21] See Gustave Flaubert, *Sentimental Education* (Paris, 1880), Chap. xiv.

[22] Cf. J. L. Talmon, *Political Messianism: The Romantic Phase* (New York, 1960), 395–471, for whom the French Revolution of 1848 is a classical example of political messianism. While mid-nineteenth-century oratorical style lends color to such an interpretation, the actual activities of the revolutionaries do not.

[23] The statements following are based upon a very extensive file of club minutes and reports assembled in preparation for a monograph on the revolutionary club movement. This documentation is drawn chiefly from contemporary newspapers, Bibliothèque Nationale Lb 53 and Lb 54, Archives Nationales C. 932–42, and the Liesville collection at the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris. The only extant studies of the Paris revolutionary clubs are Suzanne Wassermann, *Les clubs de Barbès et de Blanqui* (Paris, 1913), and her articles, "Le club de Raspail en 1848," *1848*, XV (Mar. 1908–Feb. 1909), 589–605, 655–74, 748–62.

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candidates to the National Guard and to the Constituent Assembly elections. Indeed, to such an extent did many clubs come to function like Democratic ward clubs, that upon the heels of the national elections interest of members dwindled, and many of the Parisian political clubs seem to have disappeared altogether. In short, even if the indictment of the revolutionary leadership as impractically romantic may be valid, among the lower echelons of the club movement an excessive preoccupation with narrowly practical politics was much more characteristic.

A third major thesis with which I shall deal views the Revolution of 1848 as a case study of the kind of bourgeois-proletarian class struggle that Karl Marx had envisaged in the *Communist Manifesto* and had indeed spelled out in *The Class Struggles in France (1848–1850):* "If . . . the French proletariat, at the moment of a revolution, possesses in Paris actual power and influence which spur it on to drive beyond its means, in the rest of France it is crowded into single, scattered industrial centres. . . ."[24] Here again is a generalization that cannot be simply dismissed. It is true, for example, that the provisional government, save for the two outsiders Louis Blanc and Alexandre Martin, better known by his *nom de guerre* Albert, was composed of politicians very conscious indeed of bourgeois values and aspirations.[25] It is also true that most of the short-lived reforms benefiting the working classes that were made into law in the first months after the February Revolution were imposed upon the government by popular pressures. It may further be argued that the savage repression of the June insurgents reflected the inflexibility of an entrenched middle class toward lower-class demands. It is not surprising that twentieth-century historians have concluded that "in the social turmoil appeared the first features of modern Marxism."[26]

The above interpretation raises at least three problems: Did Paris house the kind of urban proletariat envisaged by Marx and by most writers after him who have used the term? Had the kind of polarization of society that Marx prophesied actually taken place in mid-nineteenth-century Paris? Was there an unbridgeable gulf between the aspirations of the working classes and the dominant bourgeois ideology?

As to the first of these, a proletariat of factory workers certainly did

[24] Karl Marx, *The Class Struggles in France (1848–1850)* (New York, 1935), 43.

[25] For an intelligent appraisal of the social and ideological background of the members of the government from a Marxist viewpoint, see Émile Tersen, *Quarante-huit* ([Paris,] 1957), 98–101.

[26] Palmer, *History of the Modern World,* 470.

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exist in French textile centers such as Rouen-Elbeuf in Normandy, the Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing complex in northern France,[27] the mill towns of Alsace, and the silk center of Lyons. Paris, however, was in 1848 dominated, not by large-scale mechanized industry, but by craft workshops to the point where the ratio of employers to workers was about one to five. The survey undertaken in 1848 under the auspices of the Paris Chamber of Commerce indicates that, though the city contained some modern mechanized enterprises including railroad repair shops, most of its labor force was to be found in traditional occupations such as cabinetmaking or in the completely non-mechanized building trades.[28] Whatever class conflicts may have existed in Paris, they were unlikely to focus on the struggle of the relatively insignificant capitalist employers against their proletarian employees.

This view of nineteenth-century Paris as a preindustrial city has been reinforced by recent studies of social stratification. By sampling marriage and inheritance registers, Adeline Daumard has shown that for the period which she studied—1820 to 1847—the Parisian class structure remained virtually unaltered.[29] During this whole period a working class of artisans, laborers, and factory operatives intermarried with domestics and shopkeepers. The Parisian masses of the first half of the nineteenth century appear almost indistinguishable from their equally heterogeneous ancestors, the revolutionary sans-culottes, as depicted in recent French historiography.[30] In both instances we are dealing with an amalgam of journeymen, independent artisans, shopkeepers, wine merchants, and industrial workers (though the eighteenth-century grouping may have been somewhat more comprehensive) —a grouping, in any case, quite at variance with the kind of polarization that Marx prophesied.

Upon closer inspection, even the traditional symbol of class dichotomy, the insurrection of June 1848, dissolves into a conflict of bewildering complexity. Rémi Gossez, in a preview of a definitive study of this abortive revolution, has shown that though manual workers were preponderant on the side of the insurgents, the part played by retail merchants, foremen, small

[27] For an interesting account of working-class organization in this area, see Charles Lecompt, "Trois fraternelles dans la région lilloise en 1848," and "Trois fraternelles dans la région lilloise en 1849," *1848,* XLIV (No. 188, 1951), 32–48, 128–46.

[28] These semiofficial findings, which take up 1008 pages, are summarized in *Histoire socialiste,* ed. Jean Jaurès, IX, *La République de 1848* (*1848–1852*), by Georges Renard (13 vols., Paris, 1901–1908), 328–31.

[29] Adeline Daumard, "Une source d'histoire sociale: L'enregistrement des mutation par décès. Le XII[e] arrondissement en 1820 et 1847," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale,* XXXV (No. 1, 1957), 52–75, and "Les relations sociales à Paris à l'époque de la monarchie constitutionnelle, d'après les registres paroissiaux des mariages," *Population,* XI (No. 3, 1957), 445–66.

[30] See the review article by R. R. Palmer, "Popular Democracy in the French Revolution," *French Historical Studies,* I (No. 4, 1960), 445–69.

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employers, cabaret keepers, and so forth, was not inconsiderable.[31] The insurrectionists also included large contingents of the *Lumpenproletariat,* to use the Marxist terminology, which according to all the rules should have been a counterrevolutionary vanguard. On the other side of the barricades among the forces of order, though shopkeepers, white-collar workers, professional men, and intellectuals predominated in the ranks of the National Guard, a very substantial minority of manual workers was also to be found there. Factory and workshop owner-managers were inconspicuous on either side; they were more intent on standing guard over their establishments than on serving in the ranks. In Gossez's view, tension between worker and shopkeeper, tenant and landlord, the reciprocal hostility of peasant soldier and city dweller of peasant origin, as well as purely personal vendettas, distorted any "classical" pattern of class struggle.

In the realm of ideology a similar blurring of the lines of class conflict took place. While there is no denying the existence of a chasm between lower-class aspirations and the middle-class ideology of 1848, earnest, if ultimately unsuccessful, conciliation attempts were undertaken, not only by members of the provisional government, but in the middle echelons of the revolutionary elite.

A striking and extensively documented example of this spirit of class conciliation can be traced in the surviving minutes of the *Société démocratique centrale,* a political club drawing upon a membership of professional men, intellectuals, and businessmen, many of whom occupied important posts in the Paris National Guard and in the municipal administration.[32] All of them were old-line republicans, and most of them were wealthy enough to have voted under the restrictive suffrage of the July Monarchy. They were not socialists; they had little information on current social reform programs; they certainly had no direct social contact with anyone who wore the *blouse* of the workingman. Nonetheless they chose to collaborate with the *Comité central des ouvriers de la Seine,* the nearest thing to a genuine political workers' movement, in nominating candidates to run for the Constituent Assembly. In fact, this eminently bourgeois gathering became increasingly critical of the provisional government's failure to improve the status of the lower classes. It is true that when, in June, a decision was necessary, the members of the *Société démocratique centrale* dutifully fought the insurgents with their National Guard units. Yet even at this late date a vice-president of the club

[31] Rémi Gossez, "Les antagonismes sociaux au XIX^e^ siècle," *Revue économique,* I (No. 3, 1956), 439–57.

[32] Peter Amann, "A French Revolutionary Club in 1848: The Société démocratique centrale," doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1958, 9–46, furnishes an analysis of these club minutes.

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and National Guard officer, Victor Masson, was shot down on a barricade while trying to negotiate a truce between the two sides.[33] Though conciliation had in fact failed, it must be recognized that this was a policy that had enlisted the support of a significant segment of the political-minded bourgeoisie.

I take issue, finally, with a fourth generalization which views the Revolution of 1848 as a strictly urban and chiefly Parisian phenomenon[34]—in sharp contrast to the revolutionary linkage of city and countryside in 1789. On one level this interpretation cannot be challenged: while there had been rural disorders for some time,[35] the July Monarchy was toppled, not by grain riots in the countryside, but by revolutionary action in the streets of the capital. It can be pointed out, however, that in July 1789 the Paris rising had the same kind of short-run decisiveness: the peasant revolution climaxed by the *grande peur* broadened the aims of the national revolution. As Lefebvre has pointed out, the originality of the Great Revolution consisted of the meshing of a series of essentially separate movements.[36]

The Second Republic saw not one but at least three distinguishable waves of agrarian revolution. While these never reached the scope of the great fear of 1789, they were substantial movements which, taken as a block, constitute the last *Jacquerie* in France, or at least until the Fifth Republic. In contrast to 1789, however, no synchronization of the agrarian with the Parisian revolution was ever achieved.

The first of these agrarian movements paralleled the assault on the railroads and on the power looms, a desperate last sally by economic groups that were being by-passed. In rural terms this was the last stand of the poorer, economically backward regions of peasant France—the Alpine departments, the departments of the Massif Central and those of the Pyrenees, together with some adjacent areas—reacting to the pressure of population, the weight of indebtedness, the disintegration of collective property and communal privileges, the collapse of cottage industry in the general economic depres-

[33] Gossez, "Antagonismes sociaux," 441.

[34] The otherwise competent brief study by Gaston Martin, *La Révolution de 1848* (2d ed., Paris, 1959), is an extreme example of this orientation: it never even mentions the countryside. American textbooks carry a passing reference to the hostility or apathy of the peasants.

[35] Albert Soboul, "La question paysanne en 1848," *La Pensée* (No. 18, 1948), 64–66; Christianne Marcilhacy, "Les caractères de la crise sociale et politique de 1846 à 1852 dans le département du Loiret," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,* VI (Jan.–May 1959), 14–17. For a geographical survey and classification, see Rémi Gossez, "À propos de la carte des troubles de 1846–47," *Études, Société d'histoire de la Révolution de 1848,* XIX (1956), 1–3; Georges Dupeux, "Aspects agricoles de la crise: Le département de Loire-et-Cher," *ibid.,* 84–87.

[36] Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution* (New York, 1957), 5, and "La Révolution française dans l'histoire du monde," *Études sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1954), 322–24.

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sion.[37] The news of the fall of the monarchy set off widespread attempts to regain collective rights of which peasants had been deprived since the Revolution of 1789. Particularly in the departments of the Pyrenees whole villages rose up in arms against administration of the Forest Codes of 1827 and 1837 which had deprived them of customary cutting rights dating back, in some cases, to the thirteenth century.[38] In a number of areas these risings soon turned against the local moneylenders, which in Alsace meant large-scale anti-Semitic outbreaks.[39] Both the erosion of communal rights and the dependence on the usurer were peasant problems that predated the Revolution of 1848. The February Days merely roused false hopes of direct redress of these grievances, hopes deceived by the appearance of mobile columns of regulars, sent in the name of the Republic.

Peasant reaction to the imposition of the 45 per cent surtax by the republican regime in Paris is more widely known. This second wave of peasant outbreaks beginning in March 1848 was directly related to the political decisions in the national capital. Resistance developed in those regions least able to pay, that is, in the same area where the first wave of violence had barely subsided. The same mobile columns that had repressed the initial agrarian movement were now turned to the collection of the new land tax. The scope of this military operation in the French countryside should not be underestimated: about fifty thousand regulars were involved, a larger number of army personnel than was at General Louis Eugène Cavaignac's disposal in suppressing the June insurrection in Paris.[40]

It has long been recognized that the imposition of the 45 per cent surtax, which, incidentally, shifted the fiscal burden from the business community to the landowners,[41] was politically disastrous to the consolidation of the

[37] Albert Soboul, "La communauté rurale (XVIII^e au XIX^e siècles): Problèmes de base," *Revue de synthèse,* 3d Ser. (1957), 283–307, and Charles Pouthas, *La population française pendant la première moitié du* XIX^e *siècle* (Paris, 1956), Chap. VIII, for long-range views of these developments. The most complete account of peasant disorders is Albert Soboul, "La question paysanne en 1848," *La Pensée* (Nos. 18, 19, 1948), 25–37, 55–66, and for representative documents, "Les troubles agraires de 1848," *1848,* XXIX (Nos. 180, 181, 1948), 1–20, 39–61.

[38] Suzanne Coquerelle, "Les droits collectifs et les troubles agraires dans les Pyrénées (1848)," *Actes du 78^e Congrès des Sociétés savantes, Toulouse, 1953* (Paris, 1954), 345–64; J.-L. Pène, "La révolte de Barousse en 1848," *Revue de Comminges,* LXVIII (Nos. 1, 2, 1955), 13–30, 79–91; Louis Clarenc, "Les troubles de la Barousse en 1848," *Annales du Midi,* LXIII (No. 16, 1951), 329–48.

[39] Félix Ponteil, *1848* (3d ed., Paris, 1955), 61–62; Rodolphe E. Reuss, *Histoire d'Alsace* (Paris, 1912), 329; F. G. Dreyfus, "La crise dans un département de l'Est: Le Bas-Rhin," *Études, Société d'histoire de la Révolution de 1848,* XIX (1956), 242–43.

[40] Suzanne Coquerelle, "L'Armée et la répression dans les campagnes (1848)," *ibid.,* XVIII (1955), 121–59.

[41] According to Rémi Gossez, the first proceeds of the land tax went to finance the discount banks in Paris and other large cities newly created to meet the credit needs of the business community. ("La résistance à l'impôt: Les quarante-cinq centimes," *ibid.,* XV (1953), 91–93.)

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Second Republic. Recent investigation has suggested that the political impact of the land tax was much more complex than had been assumed.[42] Indeed, it pointed toward the political peasant revolution that began in 1849. Initially, the peasants turned against the provisional government and the Parisian workers for whose benefit, they believed, the tax had been levied. In many cases, peasants refused to pay, since they believed that the Constituent Assembly would repeal this fiscal imposition. When, on the contrary, the Constituent Assembly maintained the surtax and even collected it with greater energy, rural anger vented itself against the moderate Republic and its symbol, General Cavaignac—a sentiment of which Bonapartist propaganda was quick to take advantage. When, upon his election to the presidency, Louis Napoleon failed to reverse the fiscal policy of the Second Republic, the poorer rural areas became widely receptive to Montagnard propaganda.

Throughout the same backward areas of southeastern, central, and southwestern France that had seen the two earlier waves of agrarian outbreaks in 1848, a political radicalization of the peasantry took place in 1849 that was sufficiently dramatic for one recent historian of the Alpine departments to speak of a new revolution, the "Revolution of the Peasant Republic."[43] In 1848 political radicalism had been an urban phenomenon. The June insurrection disillusioned its urban supporters with the Republic. The "demo-socs" of 1849, despite superficial resemblance to the radicals of 1848, appealed instead to a peasant clientele in terms of peasant needs, chiefly cheap credit.[44] Most of the eighteen departments in which they gained a clear majority, and the twenty-three others where they garnered more than 40 per cent of the vote, were agricultural departments of the southeast, center, and southwest.[45] Peasant radicalism died hard: the 25,000–30,000 peasants of the Alpine departments who resisted Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* by force of arms did so, not in support of an alien constitution, but in behalf of a revolutionary peasant republic in the making.[46] While this interpretation is far removed

[42] *Ibid., passim.*

[43] Philippe Vigier, "La Seconde République dans la région alpine" [*résumé de thèse*], *L'Information historique* (No. 3, 1960), 125–26. On the other hand, Christianne Marcilhacy, on the basis of her study of the department of Loiret, is persuaded that the *coup d'état* forestalled a great agrarian uprising planned for 1852. ("Caractères," 54–59.)

[44] Jeanne Gaillard, "La question du crédit et les almanachs autour de 1850," *Études, Société d'histoire de la Révolution de 1848,* XVI (No. 3, 1954), 79–87; see also Mlle. Marcilhacy, "Caractères," 21–26, who contends that in the department of Loiret radical propaganda concentrated on the peasantry and agricultural workers as early as the spring of 1848. For the specific appeal to the peasants in the mountainous center during the electoral campaign of 1849, see Jacques Bouillon, "Les élections législatives du 13 mai 1849 en Limousin," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin,* LXXXIV (No. 3, 1954), 467–97.

[45] *Id.,* "Les démocrates-socialistes aux élections de 1849," *Revue française de sciences politiques,* VI (No. 1, 1956), 70–95.

[46] As late as 1915, Mlle. Marcilhacy heard a peasant in the central department of Allier repeat, "1852, c'est l'année de la Révolution," without himself knowing what this meant.

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from the cliché of the apathetic peasantry, two qualifications must be borne in mind. First, in the northern half of France the peasants' role was passive, either because of a more advanced and more prosperous agrarian economy, or, as in the case of the Vendée and of Britanny, because of the strength of a conservative political tradition. Secondly, the revolutions in the countryside never meshed with a broader national movement and hence were ultimately ineffective.

The problem of provincial revolution raises the corollary question of the relationship between regional and national history during the Second Republic. Careful research on a departmental and regional scale has recently emphasized the bewildering diversity of human, hence political, environments. In the single department of Loiret (an area the size of an average midwestern county), for instance, Christianne Marcilhacy[47] distinguishes no less than four regions with distinctive socioeconomic structure and tradition, which determined the political response of the local inhabitants. The poorest of these regions, the malaria-ridden Sologne, never stirred in the grip of a tenacious local nobility; the only slightly less impoverished Gâtinais, on the other hand, responded with unabashed radicalism to the Revolution, perhaps because its inhabitants could remember more prosperous days. Similarly in the Parisian Basin, the massive conservatism of the small peasants of the Champagne *pouilleuse,* unchallenged in their own region, contrasted with the republican peasantry of certain parts of Beauce and Brie. In the former case, the only threat came from the Parisian agitators, the *partageux;* in the latter, the threatening domination of the local oligarchy of large landlords made the peasants look to the Republic.[48]

These regional investigations, moreover, have also revealed a deceptive gap between political appearance and reality. While Paris did indeed enjoy a monopoly in the manufacture of party slogans and programs, in the provinces these national symbols cloaked local or regional issues and conflicts. In several departments surrounding the capital, for example, the February Revolution signaled a series of municipal revolutions reminiscent of 1789, in which the middle and lower bourgeoisie ousted the local power elite under

(Marcilhacy, "Caractères," 54.) Vigier, "Seconde République," 125; Marcel Dessal, "Le complot de Lyons et la résistance au coup d'état dans les départements du Sud-Est," *1848,* XLIV (No. 188, 1951), 83–96, stresses the conspiratorial background of the December 1851 insurrection; Claude Lévy, "Notes sur les fondements sociaux de l'insurrection de décembre en province," *L'Information historique,* XVI (No. 4, 1954), 142–45, emphasizes the coincidence of resistance centers with areas of backward farming. It should be noted, however, that not all who voted for the radicals in 1849 joined the 1851 uprising. See M. Sourniol, "La République de 1848 dans la Drôme," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire moderne,* XLVI (No. 14, 1949), 5–8.

[47] Marcilhacy, "Caractères," 5 ff.

[48] Chevalier, "Fondements," 531.

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the banner of republicanism.[49] In the Lyons region, on the other hand, local administrative authorities remained virtually untouched by the Revolution.[50] A variety of social and religious conflicts and traditional behavior patterns were camouflaged under made-in-Paris political party labels. Among the party chiefs of the Alpine highlands, "republicanism" or "antirepublicanism" was as much a function of clan loyalities and clan vendettas as of economic interest or ideological attraction.[51] In the department of Drôme the Huguenot enclave of the central valley constituted the backbone of republicanism, fighting the *coup d'état* of December 1851 in a defensive reflex born of age-old persecution.[52] Rozoy-en-Brie (Seine-et-Marne), on the other hand, was a center of active republicanism during the years of the Second Republic, chiefly because of the persistence of the radicalism that had made it the seat of the departmental Committee of Public Safety in 1793.[53] Despite the formal centralization of French administration, the provinces tended to translate Parisian politics into their own terms. By underlining the contrast between national (or rather Parisian) and regional history, recent research has thus dimmed the prospects for a comprehensive history of the Second Republic that would truly encompass all of France.

Despite such discouragement, some elements for a new synthetic interpretation of the French Revolution of 1848 are at hand. Any tenable explanation of 1848 must take into account the confluence of several distinct trends in nineteenth-century French society, some of which have not attracted historians' attention until recent years: the industrialization of the country; the pressure of a rising population; the economic depression of the 1840's; the French revolutionary tradition itself.

Economic historians are agreed that by 1848 France had built up substantial industry of the British type behind the tariff walls of the post-Napoleonic regimes.[54] Up to the middle of the century, however, industrialization had merely raised new problems without solving old ones. Contemporaries tended to deplore conditions in the new mill towns (a judgment confirmed by the industrial outbreaks discussed at the beginning of this article), though they might differ on remedies or prospects for the future.

[49] *Ibid.*, 284.

[50] René Lacour, *La Révolution de 1848 dans le Beaujolais et la campagne lyonnaise* (Lyons, 1955), *passim*.

[51] Vigier, "Seconde République," 124–26.

[52] Sourniol, "Sur l'origine," 6 ff.

[53] Chevalier, "Fondements," 472–73.

[54] Despite the wealth of factual information contained in A. L. Dunham's *The Industrial Revolution in France* (New York, 1955), there is no really satisfactory synthetic account of the economic history of the period. For recent work, see the excellent article, "Recent Work in the Economic History of Modern France," *French Historical Studies*, I (No. 1, 1958), 73–94, by David S. Landes.

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At the same time the new industrialization, particularly in textiles, had seriously undercut the cottage industries which had traditionally supplemented the incomes of large sections of the peasantry. As late as 1848 industrialization had not yet reached the "take-off" point, to use the phrase popularized by W. W. Rostow, and was unable to absorb the growing rural overpopulation.

In spite of all that has been said about the laggard nineteenth-century French birth rate, this rate produced a steady population growth between 1750 and 1850.[55] This increase, by wiping out the material gains realized by the peasants from the Great Revolution, sharpened a universal land hunger. In the "underdeveloped" southwestern department of Ariège, for instance, a population density of fifty persons per square kilometer prevailed in 1846 as compared to a mere twenty a hundred years later when the department was still largely agricultural and forest land.[56]

These problems of industrialization and population growth were underlined and accentuated by what French economic historians deem to have been the last great economic depression of the preindustrial type (characteristically beginning with a crop failure and only gradually spreading to industry) which after the 1848 Revolution turned into the first modern depression, paralyzing commerce and industry by a crisis of confidence and hence of credit.[57] In dealing the deathblow to cottage industry and thus to the prosperity of the countryside, the economic crisis of 1846–1850 forced the large-scale internal migrations that helped to set the stage for the economic "take-off" of the 1850's.

In 1848, however, any solution still lay in the future. In the face of fundamental problems brought on by industrialization and population growth and heightened by economic crisis, the French revolutionary tradition provided little constructive insight. Its basic doctrines, fashioned in the successful struggle against the hierarchical society of the eighteenth century, had been only superficially refurbished to meet the novel problems of the nineteenth century.[58] Post-Napoleonic attempts to readapt the doctrine lacked

[55] There is a first-rate synthesis of nineteenth-century French demographic history in C.-H. Pouthas, *La population française pendant la première moitié du* XIX^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1956), which presents this continuity as its main thesis.

[56] Michel Chevalier, "Notes sur les usurpations de terres en Couserans au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle," *Annales du Midi,* LXI (No. 1, 1949), 325–26.

[57] *Études,* XIX (La Roche-sur-Yon, 1956), of the "Bibliothèque de la Révolution de 1848," is especially devoted to this problem under the title of "Aspects de la crise et de la dépression de l'économie française au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle—1846–1851." A number of regional studies contained in the collection are summed up by C.-E. Labrousse, "Panoramas de la crise," *ibid.,* iii–xxiv.

[58] I know of no recent study dealing specifically with the adequacy of the French revolutionary tradition in meeting nineteenth-century problems. The best brief account of the transformation of this tradition is Leo Loubère, "The Intellectual Origins of French Jacobin Socialism," *International Review of Social History,* IV (No. 3, 1959), 415–31.

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analytical acumen, precision, and, above all, universal acceptance. The great common core of the tradition in 1848, its faith in political equality, was no answer to the problems of the new age. A determinist might maintain that among available French ideologies only Bonapartism provided the kind of dynamic pragmatism that this crisis called for, even though this may be the wisdom of hindsight or excessive charity on the part of historians in awarding to Louis Napoleon full credit for French economic growth.[59]

In 1848 France faced critical social problems that became closely linked in the depression following 1845. While these problems, though but dimly perceived as a general malaise by contemporaries, helped to create the revolutionary situation in mid-nineteenth-century France, the Revolution itself, drawing on a largely irrelevant tradition, was unable to provide an adequate solution. This, I would suggest, might serve as the starting point for any synthesis meaningful for our own age, though the elaboration of any over-all interpretation is clearly beyond the scope of this article.

This article has sought to qualify a number of widely accepted generalizations about the French Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic. The revolutionary idealism of the masses must be balanced against their chauvinism and blind violence. The Marxist view of bourgeois-proletarian polarity proves illusory on closer inspection, since even in the Paris of 1848 the preindustrial society of the eighteenth century still prevailed. Among the lower ranks of the revolutionary leadership, overabsorption in the technical aspects of politics looms larger than "romanticism" or "political messianism." The interpretation of 1848 as a strictly urban movement ignores the uncoordinated, but not insignificant, revolutions of the countryside. The thorny problem of the relation of national to regional history in its impact on the study of the Second Republic has been introduced though scarcely solved. Finally, I have suggested some general guidelines for a new synthesis.

While the picture that emerges is more complicated than traditional generalizations allow, historians are probably not attracted to the study of revolutions by their classic simplicity. Revolutions—and the French Revolution of 1848 is a case in point—permit the historian to penetrate beneath tradition and routine to reveal, if only briefly, the machinery of a society in all its fascinating complexity.

[59] For a less charitable view of Louis Napoleon than has recently been fashionable, see Alan B. Spitzer's bibliographical study, "The Good Napoleon III," *French Historical Studies,* II (No. 3, 1962), 308–29.

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The Exiled Revolutionaries and the French Political Police in the 1850's

HOWARD C. PAYNE and HENRY GROSSHANS*

THE defeat of the French ultrarevolutionary movements of 1848–1849 created a group of political activists who were *déracinés*. Socialists, Communists, Jacobins, and Red Republicans were reduced to the status of journalists without newspapers, speakers without rostrums, politicians without parties, and patriots without a country. Unable to accept revolutionary defeat, many of the most brilliant and most dedicated of these men were forced into exile. Embittered and frustrated, they lived abroad as outcasts and professional revolutionaries, pledged to the destruction of old France and the creation of a new society built upon its ruins.

These radicals were influenced by nineteenth-century revolutionary ideologies recently characterized by J. L. Talmon as "political messianism." Never united and differing in ideology and in tactics, the leaders and members of various revolutionary sects expressed a common faith in "a universal gospel, based on a vision of the oneness of history and the unity of mankind." They expected to realize this vision by a vast proletarian act of social regeneration that would transcend national boundaries and fulfill the purposes of "history." The result would be the fusion of individual liberty and collectivist social harmony symbolized by the battle cry "la république démocratique et sociale!"[1]

The inconsistencies, vagueness, and organizational weakness of political messianism now seem obvious. But in the years immediately following the 1848 Revolution, two opposing groups kept alive the "red specter." By far the larger of these groups, believing itself and the traditional arrangements of French society menaced by the revolutionary doctrines, supported the repressive policies of the Second Republic and, during the first decade of the Second Empire, the Bonapartist dictatorship. A smaller group, the defeated, continued to fight for the revolutionary ideas. Most of them had fled; some carried on within France. Each group believed in the "red specter," the one

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[1] See J. L. Talmon, *Political Messianism: The Romantic Phase* (New York, 1960), 15–31.

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with fear, the other with hope. For one, authoritarian government in France provided indispensable shelter against revolutionary destruction; for the other, Bonapartist dictatorship was the obstacle to the achievement of utopian reforms.

Some of the exiled generals, lieutenants, and privates of the remnant of the French revolutionary army resided in Belgium, Spain, the United States, and Switzerland. But the greatest revolutionary effort came from refugees in England. Alexandre Ledru-Rollin, "the Man of the Revolution, the Guardian of the Old Republic," and Louis Blanc, who claimed to speak on behalf of the French socialist movement, had fled to Britain. There also were Pierre Leroux, author of *De la ploutocratie* and other writings in defense of the French revolutionary movement; Alphonse Esquiros, who in 1840 published *L'évangile du peuple,* which had portrayed Jesus as a revolutionary searching for justice, and who in 1848 had been editor of *Le peuple;* Théophile Thoré, lawyer, art critic, and in 1848 the editor of *Vraie république;* Jean Colfavru, a member of the famous *Club des hommes libres;* Félix Pyat, author of *Le chiffonnier de Paris;* Charles Ribeyrolles, former editor of *La réforme;* and Philippe Faure, who had been on the editorial staff of Félicité Lamennais's *Le peuple constituant.* In all, approximately one thousand of those who could not accept either the Second Republic or the Second Empire settled in England.[2]

The exiles believed that their flight was only a temporary retreat and that they were the unhappy victims of a historical mistake that would soon be corrected. The Russian Alexander Herzen, who was himself an exile in London from 1852 to 1865, noted that the French refugees thought only of their triumphant past and their golden future but never of the painful present. "The exiles did not yet believe in the permanence of their enemy's triumph; the intoxication of their recent successes had not yet passed off, the applause and songs of the victorious people were still ringing in their ears. They firmly believed that their defeat was a momentary reverse, and did not unpack their bags."[3]

The refugees would not retire from politics, and exile did not shake their faith in the revolutionary future. The logic of history, which for Blanc traced "out the roads that gradually lead to socialism," promised Ledru-Rollin the ultimate victory of republicanism through universal suffrage and assured Pyat that he would find the path to revolutionary success. Whether the logic

[2] See A. R. Calman, *Ledru-Rollin après 1848 et les proscrits français en Angleterre* (Paris, 1921), 135.

[3] A. I. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen* (6 vols., London, 1924–27), III, 59.

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itself or his assurance in it cleared all the clouds of rhetoric in which he wandered cannot be documented. While refugees who came to London in the summer of 1848 had plausible grounds for their certainty that exile was to be only a passing inconvenience, Victor Schoelcher, who arrived in 1852, drew upon deeper faith. He assured his countrymen that "December 2 is an accident, unhappy and dismal, but it is only an accident. The revolution is not finished."[4] The exiles clung to their various messianic faiths in spite of historical facts and, at least to some extent, deserved Pierre Proudhon's scathing indictment: "With your great *mots de guerre* on the subject of kings and the fraternity of people, with your revolutionary parades and all this hurly-burly of demagogues, you have until now been no more than windbags!"[5]

The belief that revolution continued to menace French society and the French state was widely shared by those guardians of law and order, the members of France's highly centralized administrative bureaucracy. Since the days of the First Empire, the prefectorial hierarchy of the Ministry of Interior and that of the public prosecutors, or "judiciary police," under the Ministry of Justice, had enjoyed comprehensive political police powers and duties.[6] The Revolution of 1848 had only temporarily interrupted their vigilant surveillance of public opinion, the press, and political associations. During the reaction following the June Days of 1848 and during the presidency of Louis Napoleon from December 1848 until December 1851, the bureaucracy, and especially the prefects, acted against all forms of radicalism. Armed with repressive legislation, the prefects and the judiciary police scoured the country for "secret societies," real or fancied, and eliminated or effectively curbed a considerable part of the radical newspaper press.

In France, in the years between 1850 and 1870, the term "political police" signified no spectacular cloak-and-dagger operations; nor did it apply only to a specialized group of police officials. Ministers, prefects, public prosecutors, and mayors, together with their subordinates, including policemen, performed political police functions along with routine administrative duties. Political police meant surveillance of suspects, periodic and special reports, and preventive and repressive security operations ranging from secret police work to public propaganda. Thus the responsibilities of the political police encom-

[4] Victor Schoelcher, *Histoire des crimes du deux décembre* (London, 1852), 17.

[5] Quoted by G. J. Weill, *Histoire du parti républicain en France de 1814 à 1870* (Paris, 1928), 252.

[6] Political police functions in France's nearly ninety *départements* were distributed through "administrative police" of the prefectorial hierarchy under the Ministry of Interior and the "judiciary police" in twenty-seven regional jurisdictions headed by the *procureurs-généraux*, or public prosecutors, under the Ministry of Justice. Cooperation in political police activities was usually close between these two bureaucracies, whose surveillance, reports, and action extended down to the smallest commune in matters affecting political security. In Paris the prefect of police, in addition to other duties, directed political police operations, nominally under the Ministry of Interior.

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passed public opinion, the press, and organizations of every kind. The directors of political police activities were dignitaries, members of an indispensable administrative elite, with traditions of state service and official integrity. They were not men who sought the pittance of police informers and whose positions depended upon manipulating a false "red specter." With strikingly similar attitudes they welcomed, urged, and assisted the advent of Bonapartist dictatorship before and during the *coup d'état* in December 1851.[7] Their reward was an opportunity to administer France more arbitrarily and thus combat a "red specter" in which they believed. Especially in the 1850's, as the French archives amply attest, administrators from local mayors and *commissaires de police* up to the Ministers of Interior and Justice were far too concerned with the alleged "red specter" for it to have been no more than a cynical invention for propaganda uses.[8]

French police officials believed that a country-wide network of revolutionary secret societies existed in France and that these societies responded to the commands of refugee leaders. Confidential administrative correspondence at all levels of the French police hierarchy reported the evidence of a great underground conspiracy.[9] One may now doubt the accuracy of some of the reports submitted to the Ministries of Justice and Interior, but the following words must have seemed a strong warning to officials in Paris who read hundreds of similar accounts between 1849 and 1851. "Can it be doubted that a vast conspiracy embraces all France and probably a part of Europe? The conspirators' organization is complete at this very moment. Everywhere, everywhere, it is uniform. Everywhere, their plans are the same, and their means of execution identical."[10]

Neither the repression preceding the *coup d'état* nor the more drastic reaction following it eliminated officialdom's fears. The very success of widespread police action confirmed fears that eternal vigilance was the price of

[7] Howard C. Payne, "Theory and Practice of Political Police during the Second Empire in France," *Journal of Modern History*, XXX (Mar. 1958), 14–23, and "Preparation of a Coup d'État: Administrative Centralization and Police Powers in France, 1849–51," in *Studies in Modern European History in Honor of Franklin Charles Palm*, ed. Frederick J. Cox *et al.* (New York, 1956), 175–202.

[8] This conclusion is based upon intensive examination of the following series in the Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN] for the 1850's: F^{1a} (general administration), F^{1c} III (correspondence of prefects), F^{7} (general police), F^{18} (press), BB^{18} (Ministry of Justice, political series), BB^{30} (reports of the *procureurs-généraux*). It is further supported by a regional sampling in the archives of the parquet in Aix-en-Provence and the Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD] in Marseille and Grenoble, Series M.

[9] Officials of both hierarchies made extensive political reports up the chain of administrative command. The tone, assumptions, and stereotyped attitudes of these officials are extraordinarily similar; thus "typical" viewpoints are easily noticed. Citations here are taken mainly from reports of the successive *procureurs-généraux* resident, during the 1850's, in Lyon, Grenoble, Aix-en-Provence, Nîmes, Montpellier, and Paris. Thus a large, regional sampling of attitudes is possible, based upon areas of diversified traditions and social customs.

[10] *Procureur-général* [hereafter cited as PG] at Montpellier, May 7, 1851, AN, BB^{30} 380.

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security. As a typical report of 1852 concluded, "the calm is more apparent than real."[11] Nor did the tone of such reports change significantly throughout the 1850's.

Although authorities made public use of the "red specter" to justify the *coup d'état* and its consequences, they were not necessarily insincere or purely opportunistic. Prefects, public prosecutors, and ministers were not recruited from that part of French society likely to ignore, still less to applaud, the radical programs of 1848. If others with conservative or bourgeois values and interests were shocked by the apparent nihilism of "la république démocratique et sociale," so were officials involved in political police activity, and perhaps even more. Granting that the stereotyped fears also expressed what was expected of them, still, as bureaucrats accustomed to orderly, paternalistic administration, they were alarmed and confused by the radical eruption of 1848. Sensing the latent power of an industrial proletariat, they lacked clear insight into the new social problems of an industrial society. In a time of rapid change, they defended essentially static views of order and morality against what a confidential report called the apocalyptic vision of "the most ardent communism, *table rase* of present society, and government of the sovereign people by and for itself."[12] A view repeatedly expressed was that the administration must accept the arduous role of stern disciplinarian and benevolent tutor, opposing "false ideas" by re-education in the old-fashioned virtues of religion, modesty, and thrift as antidotes against the new passion for vice, luxury, and excessive materialism.[13]

Administrators often admitted that the *coup d'état* had eliminated immediate dangers. But the French people were "so very inconstant in their impressions"[14] that years of tutelage would be required before they recovered "completely regular habits" of thought and behavior.[15] "Socialism," after the corruption wrought by the "vain utopias" of 1848, was said to have "deep roots in the instincts of egoism and covetousness natural to men."[16] Workers were thought to be most susceptible to the new political "immorality," aroused not so much by the real miseries of their lot as by the abstract utopianism of 1848.[17]

In their repressive zeal, French authorities did not make fine distinctions between the various sects of political messianism and the simple label "repub-

[11] Headquarters, Army of Lyon, "Résumé des devoirs des membres des commissions militaires," Jan. 12, 1852, AD Grenoble (Isère), 52.M.31.

[12] PG Paris, confidential report of Apr. 6, 1855, AN, BB^{30} 409, $P1112^{bis}$.

[13] E.g., PG Montpellier, July 5, 1858, *ibid.*, plaq. 3; *procureur de la république* at Toulon to justices of the peace, Dec. 12, 1851, AD Bouches-du-Rhône, Aix-en-Provence, 14.U.48.

[14] PG Nîmes, July 6, 1852, AN, BB^{30} 382, plaq. 2.

[15] PG Grenoble, Mar. 8, 1852, *ibid.*, 378, plaq. 2.

[16] PG Aix-en-Provence, Feb. 25, 1852, *ibid.*, 370, plaq. 2.

[17] PG Lyon, July 1857, *ibid.*, 379, plaq. 3.

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lican." As Georges Weill has pointed out, officials of the Second Empire took for granted the persistence of much republican sentiment even after the Empire had been firmly established.[18] Actually, their assumptions went much further. Officials equated "republican" beliefs with the "socialism" or "communism" of the most radical groups. "There are no more republicans, there remain only socialists," wrote one official in 1853.[19] Four years later, a colleague, in chorus with many others, declared that "the republic is the primary means adopted by all the communists in order to achieve the great destruction of the social order." The danger lay "not in what one would ordinarily call a political movement, but in a socialist sentiment . . . that can never be given satisfaction."[20]

Enough residual revolutionary activity remained in France after December 1851 to keep official fear alive. Reports of insurrectionary secret societies and plots against the Emperor's life filled administrative correspondence, although the reporting officials sometimes discounted the reports as either false or dubious. Some cases of revolutionary activity were brought to trial and publicized; many others received no public notice.[21] Far from seizing upon every pretext for "scare" propaganda, officials were divided upon the policy of publicizing such cases. The public prosecutor at Lyon spoke for one group when he wrote: "I believe . . . it is always wise to avoid, whenever possible, stimulating the public imagination with the spectacle of such affairs."[22] Prefects often voiced similar convictions.[23] On the other hand, to cite only one example, in a secret society case involving the arrest of eighty-five persons in Reims in 1854, the Minister of Interior forbade publicity, against the advice of both a prefect and the public prosecutor at Paris.[24]

In their confusion of fact and assumption, French officials reported that the country was honeycombed with small revolutionary cells. They were plagued by visions of secret revolutionary agents carrying "letters in cipher" from cell to cell, silently spinning a great revolutionary web from strands of "mysterious interviews, oaths of unqualified hatred against the tyrant, full obedience to group leaders."[25] The old secret societies had been succeeded by a "latent organization" that posed dangers no less real for being "nearly

[18] Weill, *Parti républicain*, 305.
[19] PG Montpellier, July 8, 1853, AN, BB^{30}, plaq. 3.
[20] PG Lyon, July 1857, *ibid.*, 379, plaq. 3.
[21] Publicity was given to forty-four cases of secret societies and conspiracies in the *Gazette des tribunaux* between 1852 and 1859. Many others appear in the correspondence, in the archival series indicated in note 8, above.
[22] To the Minister of Justice, Aug. 7, 1852, AN, BB^{18} 1510.
[23] E.g., the prefects of the Haute-Garonne and the Hérault to the Minister of Interior, July 7, 1852, July 11, 1856, *ibid.*, F^{1c} III Haute-Garonne 14 and Hérault 9.
[24] Correspondence of the prefect of the Marne, the *procureur-impérial* at Paris, and the Minister of Interior, July 12, 14, 15, 21, 1854, *ibid.*, F^{18} 300.
[25] PG Paris, Apr. 6, 1855, *ibid.*, BB^{30} 409, $P1112^{bis}$.

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imperceptible,"[26] and the "subterranean sap" of "permanent conspiracy" still ran through French society.[27]

Confident of their ability to suppress subversion of domestic origin, officials were frustrated by their inability to control the activities of political refugees. Mysterious "mots d'ordre" were thought to travel from London to France with "incredible speed."[28] The prospect of "invasion" by refugees from London, Jersey, Italy, or Switzerland haunted police authorities. In December 1851 and in early 1852 officials of the central administration and the border *départements* sounded sporadic "invasion" alarms.[29]

Official belief in the need for continued administrative repression was bolstered by genuine attempts by the refugees to establish "secret committees" in France,[30] by write-in votes for such men as Ledru-Rollin at election time,[31] and by "voluminous and numerous distributions of pamphlets edited, printed, and sent by the members of the Central Committee of London."[32] Among reports sent by persons abroad, one addressed to the Minister of Interior in 1852 warned of the departure from London of "one of the members of the Council of Red Republicans."[33] Consequently, officials tended, sometimes with little or no evidence, to attribute domestic revolutionary activity to the machinations of refugees. A typical case was that of the "Communist Alliance" in 1852. This was apparently a Marxian socialist group, in which twelve Germans and a Frenchman were linked to the London refugees and the revolutionary journal published in London, *Voix du proscrit,* and charged with fomenting international revolution, murder, and pillage.[34] On the other hand, such plots as those of the *Comité révolutionnaire* in 1853,[35] and the *Commune révolutionnaire* in 1853–1854 and again in 1856[36] showed more convincing evidence that refugees were involved.

[26] PG Montpellier, Oct. 10, 1858, *ibid.,* 380, plaq. 4; see also PG Aix-en-Provence, Apr. 6, 1853, *ibid.,* 370, plaq. 3.

[27] PG Paris, Nov. 26, 1853, *ibid.,* 383, plaq. 4. Similar reports are in PG Grenoble, July 8, 1853, *ibid.,* 380, plaq. 2; PG Montpellier, May 6, 1852, *ibid.,* 380, plaq. 2; PG Paris, confidential eleven-page report of Apr. 6, 1855, *ibid.,* 409, P1112^{bis}.

[28] See, e.g., Maréchal de Castellane, entry of Oct. 18, 1851, *Journal du Maréchal de Castellane, 1804–1862* (5 vols., Paris, 1895–97), IV, 340. De Castellane was the commanding officer of the state of siege in which the Rhône had been placed in 1849.

[29] See Minister of Interior to prefect of Haut-Rhin, Dec. 18, 1851. This and dozens of dispatches of December 1851 expressing similar alarms are in AN, F^{7} 12654.

[30] As attested, for example, by one of the organizers, J.-B. Boichot, *Souvenirs d'un prisonnier d'état sous le second empire, 1854–1859* (Leipzig, 1869), 3–5.

[31] E.g., as reported by PG Montpellier, June 30, 1857, AN, BB^{30} 380, plaq. 3.

[32] Summary report compiled by the Ministry of General Police, July 5, 1852, *ibid.,* F^{7} 3008^{1}, dossier 9.

[33] Anonymous letter to Fialin de Persigny from London, Nov. 14, 1852, translated and sent marked "urgent" by the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of General Police, *ibid.,* 3008^{1}.

[34] Publicly reported in the *Gazette des tribunaux,* Feb. 26–29, 1852.

[35] Archives of the *Préfecture de Police,* Paris, AA/434, pièces 215–57. The case was not publicized.

[36] Correspondence in AN, BB^{30} 409, P1143, and 417, P1366; *Gazette des tribunaux,* begin-

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After 1851 French authorities better understood the disunity and confusion among the refugees; yet they continued to regard the exiles as dangerous. One of the most vocal Cassandras of the French bureaucracy of the 1850's was Gustave Rouland, an articulate public defender of French society since 1848 and public prosecutor at Paris from 1853 to 1856. "With a dignity marked with a sort of grave melancholy like the face of Justice itself," writes a biographer,[37] Rouland was as vehement against the "red specter" in celebrated public trials as in his confidential administrative correspondence. Rouland saw but one "demagogic" party dangerous to France. This was the group led by Ledru-Rollin and the "Central Committee in London" and the *Commune révolutionnaire,* in all of whose members burned the passions of revolutionary heroes extending back to Maximilien Robespierre and Louis de Saint-Just.[38] Repeated setbacks would never daunt the refugees and their agents, Rouland often declared.

> The spirit of revolution will always remain in these . . . self-seeking men who never find a satisfactory place in the sun. . . . They detest the society that allegedly fails to understand them. By their side all sorts of adventurers hope to obtain from disorder what they ought to achieve by labor. . . . All this constitutes a formidable alignment against society that from time to time breaks forth, triumphs, and sows ruin and desolation in its path. . . . We have only one certain means of safety—force and respect for the central power. . . . Truly, the unparalleled social question of the day is whether the present civilization will survive or be destroyed. To be or not to be![39]

Although he recognized "all the nuances of the demagogic party" in terms of doctrinal and factional differences, Rouland pointed out in 1855 that the radicals were nonetheless united by two bonds: their common passion for revolution and the Second Empire as the common target of that passion. The refugees and their followers were said to regard the assassination of Napoleon III as the indispensable prelude to insurrection in France and perhaps elsewhere.[40] In this belief, Rouland was not alone. Pierre-Marie Piétri, the Paris prefect of police, had similarly reported in 1853 that the murder of the Emperor was "always the point of departure for attempts . . . at democratic revolution. The refugee leaders understand that the presence of Napoleon III is an invincible obstacle to the success of their enterprises,

ning July 21, 1853, and Apr. 23, 1856. In 1856, the Ministry of Interior refused the Paris public prosecutor's request not to publicize the case.

[37] Hippolyte Castille, *Portraits politiques au dix-neuvième siècle,* 2d Ser., Portrait No. 25, "M. Rouland" (Paris, 1860), 31.

[38] Special confidential report to Minister of Justice, Apr. 6, 1855, AN, BB^{30} 409, $P1112^{b18}$.

[39] Statement as public prosecutor, *Assises de la Seine,* Nov. 16, 1853, as reported in *Gazette des tribunaux,* Nov. 17, 1853, 1101.

[40] PG Paris, special confidential report of Apr. 6, 1855, AN, BB^{30} 409, $P1112^{b18}$.

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and so they are preoccupied with the means of ridding themselves of that obstacle." [41]

However exaggerated the fears of officials may have been, nevertheless, throughout the 1850's, the exiles in England believed that they could accomplish what the French authorities feared. Hoping to mount a great revolutionary offensive and to prepare the way for their triumphant return to France, they published newspapers, smuggled fly sheets into France, and assumed a threatening posture, almost as if they were determined to satisfy the image of themselves in the minds of French officials.

The major effort of the exiles was made by two committees organized as instruments of the revolution: the *Comité central démocratique européen* and the *Commune révolutionnaire*. In the summer of 1850 Ledru-Rollin joined the Italian Giuseppe Mazzini, the German Arnold Ruge, and the Pole Albert Darasz in creating the *Comité,* an association pledged to republicanism and international revolutionary activity. In July 1850 it published the first issue of *Proscrit, journal de la république universelle*. Edited by Ledru-Rollin and Charles Delescluze, the journal was to print the proclamations of the *Comité,* the first state papers of a federation of European revolutionary republics.

In the initial issue of *Proscrit,* Ledru-Rollin published a statement of principles to which the *Comité* subscribed. He declared that "democracy has but one logical form: the republic," and that this republican form of government must entail universal suffrage, right of association, free and obligatory education, a single progressive tax, and abolition of all indirect taxes. In the name of the *Comité,* Ledru-Rollin called on all Frenchmen to support this program of "the war against kings, the fraternity of people, the universal republic, and human brotherhood." The French authorities suppressed *Proscrit* after its second number in August. This early misfortune was soon remedied, however, and, on October 27 appeared the first issue of *Voix du proscrit,* also edited by Ledru-Rollin and Delescluze and printed in Saint-Amand (Nord).

The *Comité* proposed to establish in each country a "National Committee, the veritable and regular expression of the wants, the wishes, and the general tendencies of that country. . . . The delegates of the National Committees will constitute the Central Committee of the Democracy of Europe." Principal revolutionary work was thus to be done by national committees, while the *Comité central* was to prepare men's minds for international brother-

[41] Report of Jan. 13, 1853, sent to the Emperor, the ministers, and other high officials, *ibid.*, F^7 3008^1.

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hood, help the national committees, which were to be established as soon as possible, and "give the signal for the general rising."[42] In December 1850 it was announced that the "Central Committee has already received numerous adherents—among which we mention the Committee of Young Austria, the Centralizing Committee of Germany, the Polish Democratic Committee, and the Central Committee of the Democratic Association of Holland."[43]

The *Comité* made little progress toward satisfying its revolutionary program. Though, naturally, it published many proclamations, the national committees failed to function, and the calls to action by the *Comité central* were unsuccessful.[44] *Voix du proscrit* was suppressed by the French authorities after the issue of September 3, 1851.[45] Ledru-Rollin then began to publish another revolutionary journal entitled *Peuple,* but its first number was also its last. Ruge moved from London to Brighton in the fall of 1851 and soon thereafter withdrew from the *Comité.* In February 1852 a small group of Englishmen, including Thomas Cooper, Joseph Cowan, George Dawson, James Watson, and William Linton, opened a subscription drive on behalf of the *Comité.*[46] But this was not enough. On September 19, 1852, Darasz died. Another Pole, Stanisław Worcell, was elected to the vacant place. By this time, however, the *Comité* was inactive, and early in 1853 the *Comité central démocratique européen* disappeared.

These futile organizational activities confirmed the fears of French officials. In August 1851 Pierre Carlier, prefect of the Paris police, warned the Minister of Justice of a "Complot Européen," consisting of a "general association" of French and other political exiles organized for the purpose of "overthrowing Europe." According to him, the principal activity of the "plotters" was directed at France, where revolution would spark an international upheaval. He named Delescluze, Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini, and other

[42] *Proscrit,* Aug. 1850.

[43] *Voix du proscrit,* Dec. 8, 1850. Reports on the activities of the committee may be found in newspapers published by the British ultraradicals. See, e.g., G. J. Harney's *The Red Republican,* William Linton's *The English Republic,* G. J. Holyoake's *The Reasoner,* and Thornton Hunt's *The Leader.*

[44] Only one of the national committees was an organization of substance. The Polish Democratic Committee, which claimed to speak on behalf of the exiled Poles of 1830, had moved to London from Paris in 1849. By 1851 it claimed a membership of 2,300 (see *The Leader,* Jan. 25, 1851). This was undoubtedly an exaggeration.

[45] It survived to this date because of skillful editing that, to the frustration of authorities, found loopholes in existing press legislation. After one prosecution failed because of a technicality, the public prosecutor at Douai hesitated to risk another defeat before "a jury as unintelligent as that of the Nord" until he had an ironclad case. (PG Douai to Minister of Justice, May 23, 1851, AN, BB^{30} 957; there is a dossier of correspondence on this problem among the prefect of police, Ministers of Justice and Interior, and the public prosecutor at Douai.)

[46] William Linton, in *The English Republic* (4 vols., London, 1851–55), II, 212, states that £50 were collected for this fund. But G. J. Holyoake, in *Bygones Worth Remembering* (2 vols., London, 1905), I, 211, claims that the total amount was £450. Linton's figure is the more plausible.

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French exiles as the instigators and concluded by warning that "the *Comité central démocratique européen* is a government, whose official journal is *La voix du proscrit.*"[47]

Even as the *Comité* neared its end, the new revolutionary organization, *Commune révolutionnaire,* was founded by Pyat, Marc Caussidière, and J.-B. Boichot. On August 15, 1852, the program of the *Commune* was published in a brochure entitled *Lettre au peuple français, 22 septembre, anniversaire de la première république.* Here it was stated that the name of the organization was derived from the Paris Commune of the 1790's and that the newly formed revolutionary group was the custodian of the great Jacobin tradition and the instrument designed for the defeat of Louis Napoleon.

Most of the exiles joining the *Commune* were former members of the *Comité révolutionnaire-social* of Switzerland, who had settled in London and Jersey after leaving their original place of exile. In addition to the founders, the important members were Louis Avril, author of *Mémoires d'un enfant du peuple;* Jean Colfavru; Alexandre Besson, who was to be a most active member of the *Branche française* of the First International Workingmen's Association; J. B. Rougée, former hatter and medical student; Gustave Jourdan, president of the *Club de la fraternité du faubourg S. Antoine* in 1848; and Alfred Talandier, who translated G. J. Holyoake's *History of Co-operation in Rochdale* into French and in the 1860's became a member of both Mikhail Bakunin's *Fraternité internationale* and the International Workingmen's Association.

The *Commune révolutionnaire* inclined toward socialism and accepted the argument that "true independence is not that of political or national laws, but of work."[48] The principal purpose was to promote its claims as the embodiment of the French revolutionary tradition. The program of the group consisted largely of a continual restatement of loyalty to the ideas of revolutionary France and the claim that the organization's program demanded "the audacity of Danton, the energy of Saint-Just, the disinterestedness of Robespierre, with all the heroic terror of the revolution."[49]

The group published many pamphlets, fly sheets, and occasional announcements, all designed to stress the importance of acting in the true revolutionary spirit. Its failure was as pronounced as the *Comité*'s. In the autumn of 1855 three members published a protest against Louis Napoleon's visit to England in the spring of the year. In the October issue of *L'homme,* a journal

[47] The warning appears in Georges Bourgin, "Mazzini et le Comité central démocratique en 1851," *Il Risorgimento Italiano,* VI (1913), 353–71.
[48] See Jean Colfavru's article in *L'homme,* Apr. 29, 1853.
[49] Félix Pyat *et al., Lettre aux proscrits* (London, 1855), 2.

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published by Ribeyrolles in Jersey, there appeared an open letter to Queen Victoria. Signed by Pyat, Rougée, and Jourdan, the letter personally attacked Victoria for having received Louis Napoleon: "You have sacrificed all—queenly dignity, feminine scruples, aristocratic pride, English feeling, rank, race, chastity, all, even the sense of modesty, for the sake of the great ally." This attack aroused protests throughout England. An indignant Jersey mob wrecked the offices of *L'homme,*[50] and the British authorities ordered the exiles in Jersey implicated in the affair to leave the island. The majority of the refugees promptly moved to Guernsey.

The *Commune révolutionnaire* never recovered from this fiasco. On August 17, 1856, it was announced that the organization was joining the International Association, an alliance of "the French Commune révolutionnaire, the Society of German Communists, the Society of English Chartists, the Society of Polish Socialists, and all those, who, without belonging to any of these societies, are eligible members."[51] The new association, however, was no stronger than the groups that joined it, and the *Commune révolutionnaire,* from this time on, existed only as a name that Pyat, upon appropriate occasions, used as a rhetorical device.

The struggle of the French police authorities against the revolutionaries was frustrated by British tolerance. Most of them found it intolerable that "only a few hours away from our capital libels could be publicly spread and assemblies openly held where the abominable doctrine of political assassination could be preached without impediment or disguise." They could not understand why Britain was "taking no effective action against men placed under the ban of all civilized nations."[52] An official at Lyon complained:

> It is always in England that you find the definitive and true home of this agitation by the French, Italian, and other malcontents and refugees. Belgium, Switzerland, and Piedmont are . . . merely the local branches of this . . . center. The evil writings and projects are nearly always of English origin; they are serious and dangerous only when they come from there.[53]

These complaints came in the late fifties. But even before the *coup d'état,* the French government, acting upon the reports of its administrative officials, had made the refugee question an important issue in Franco-British rela-

[50] Reports of the events in Jersey may be found in the London *Times,* Nov. 17, 1855, and in *The Reasoner and London Tribune,* Nov. 4, 11, Dec. 16, 23, 1855.

[51] *Reynold's Newspaper,* Aug. 17, 1856. An excellent discussion of this new international organization is in A. M. Lehning, "The International Association (1855–1859)," *International Review for Social History,* III (Leiden, 1938), 263 ff.

[52] PG Paris, Aug. 20, 1858, AN, BB[30] 383, plaq. 6.

[53] PG Lyon, Jan. 3, 1857, *ibid.,* 379, plaq. 3.

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tions,[54] so much so that after 1851, French insistence that the British government act against the refugees became a major diplomatic problem for the English.[55] From the embassy in Paris, both Ambassador Normanby and his successor, Cowley, while believing French fears to be exaggerated, frequently reported the seriousness with which Napoleon III and French officials regarded the "red specter."[56] Even the British Foreign Office suspected that "the greater part of the French refugees in London" were planning a return to France, where they would take command of nineteen or twenty thousand "organized and armed" men of the Paris secret societies.[57] Cowley reported in 1853 that the Emperor insisted that he had documented evidence of the refugees' plans for "instigating assassination." These fears were part of "an opinion very prevalent not only among my colleagues, but in French society, that the proceedings of Foreign Refugees in England, were becoming dangerous to the tranquillity of the Continent. . . ."[58] During the crisis preceding the Crimean War, Napoleon III interrupted a talk with Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe on Anglo-French solidarity in the Eastern Question to protest against the refugees in London and on the Channel Islands. The Emperor blamed the exiles for attacks against his life and declared that until this problem was solved it would never be safe in France "to relax the present system" of authoritarian government.[59] French diplomatic protests were fruitless, and revolutionary propaganda continued to be smuggled from England into France.

"Bulletins," often numbered in sequence and sent regularly into France by Delescluze, Ledru-Rollin, and Pyat, were replete with printed and hand-traced Phrygian bonnets, seals proclaiming the "Holy Alliance of People" (sobriquet of the *Comité central démocratique européen*), and allusions to "The Universal Democracy" (subtitle of the journal *L'homme*). Citizens of Paris and other French cities awoke occasionally to find walls placarded with appeals to revolution, and they were wooed by revolutionary songs, scores of which were printed in England and run through the French police blockade. A typical song, supposedly written by a "Pierre Lerough [Leroux?]," praised Giovanni Pianori and Édouard Bellemare, would-be assassins of Napoleon III, and ended with the refrain:

[54] Bourgin, "Mazzini et le Comité central."

[55] The issue recurred in the correspondence between the British ambassadors, Normanby and later Cowley, and the Foreign Office, as is evident in the British Public Record Office (PRO), Foreign Office (FO) Series 27, 146, and others for these years [hereafter cited as PRO, FO].

[56] E.g., various dispatches in PRO, FO 27/905, 27/964.

[57] Foreign Office to Normanby, No. 601, Dec. 6, 1851, *ibid.*, 27/905.

[58] Cowley to Clarendon, No. 118, Mar. 4, 1853, *ibid.*, 27/964.

[59] Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, "Mem. Paris March 14th 1853," sent by the Foreign Office to Cowley for information, No. 39, Mar. 18, 1853, *ibid.*, 146/465.

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Forward, people! Annihilate this world
So that it may never be reborn!
Kill by one blow
And on the same day
All the old social, political, and religious order.
Kill at one blow
Capital, the priests, and Bonaparte.
From the language of men forever erase the words:
Exploiters, exploited; governors, governed; poor and rich!
Long live the universal social republic![60]

The revolutionary program was seldom more concrete than this. In a confidential letter to an agent in France, who had asked for advice on doctrine and tactics, Delescluze limited himself to such statements as: "Overthrow Bonaparte, resurrect the Republic and found it on indestructible bases"; "The fortunes of the Republic will protect our revolutionaries." The *Comité,* in whose name Delescluze wrote, "wants the Republic with its legitimate consequences from the political and social point of view and accepts without hesitation all the revolutionary measures demanded by justice and the interest of France as a whole."[61] In a similar communication to the "committees of the west" in France, Ledru-Rollin urged his readers:

Citizens, learn to avoid or to conquer obstacles, but go on, for above and before everything else is the Revolution! . . . Seize the first occasion to overthrow the tyrant and to found at last that social and democratic republic which . . . must be the aim of all our efforts.[62]

Such sweeping revolutionary directives stimulated the imagination of both police officials and revolutionaries within France. Among the scores of French secret societies that operated sporadically in the 1850's, some were organized by the London committees, some were purely local and indigenous, and some (especially around Lyon and in the Midi) were continuations of the old *Carbonari* and of societies founded in 1848. The names of the underground organizations reflected something of their origin, variety, and character: The Revolutionary Committee, The Young Mountain, The New Mountain, The Central Committee of Resistance, The Democratic and Socialist Society, The Militant, The Fraternity, The New Fraternity, The Free Hearts, The Red Cross, The Miners, The New Arms, The Daggers, The True Avengers of Democracy.

In the mélange of revolutionary aspirations, utopian visions were often

[60] Quoted by prefect of police, summary report to the Emperor and ministers, Oct. 10, 1856, AN, BB^{30} 366, dossier 2, pièce 168.

[61] To "Citoyen" (M. Closmadeuc), Oct. 13, 1853, signed by Delescluze and intercepted by the police, *ibid.*, pièce 161, copy.

[62] Circular of Oct. 6, 1852, *ibid.*

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interspersed with themes of anticipated revenge against French authorities. One manifesto of the Paris committee of the *Commune révolutionnaire* claimed: "The revolution is imminent. . . . On the day of revolution all will be ready to act as one man, and the spilled blood will benefit all humanity's cause by achieving forever the social and democratic republic. . . . Let us remember '93. Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Saint-Just. . . . It is a holy war."[63] Other manifestoes, appearing constantly throughout the 1850's, were similar, whether issued by branches of the old *Carbonari* or by the new societies founded in 1848. Chilling oaths of allegiance, detailed "statutes" outlining revolutionary networks, and manifestoes calling at the same time for revolutionary vengeance and promising the revolutionary utopia were typical. The literature usually promised to liquidate exploiters, priests, state functionaries, and all "reactionaries."[64] Police officials were frequently taunted by placarded references to the guillotine, by red-lettered posters reading "Long Live Ledru-Rollin. Down with the *aristos*!"[65] and even by pipe bowls carved in the likenesses of Ledru-Rollin and other revolutionary heroes.[66] Red flags appeared with the warning that " '48 betrayed by its kindness demands a '93 as vengeance."[67] Concerted effort by administrators from the local to the national level, including the Paris prefect of police, customs officials, and the Ministers of Justice, Police, Interior, and Foreign Affairs, failed to stem the flood during the early years of the Empire. Grievances against the laxity of the British government seemed substantiated.[68]

French authorities also believed, often without evidence, that secret emissaries and organizers were being sent throughout France. Mazzini, sometimes accompanied by Ledru-Rollin, was reported hiding in various parts of the country.[69] Officials assumed, again with little to go on, that scattered accounts of underground political activity or mere restlessness in a region were related to a larger pattern of conspiracy planned by the refugees.[70] The exiles were continually represented as on the verge of achieving their long-desired goal of "fusion of a large number of secret societies" in France.[71]

[63] Manifesto as read into the trial record, case of the *Commune révolutionnaire,* Sixth Correctional Tribunal, Paris, session of Apr. 22, 1856, *Gazette des tribunaux,* Apr. 23, 1856, 391–92.

[64] E.g., a typical manifesto dated Oct. 6, 1851, issued by a "Comité révolutionnaire du Midi," AN, BB[30] 396, P440.

[65] PG Grenoble, May 10, 1852, *ibid.,* 378, plaq. 2.

[66] PG Aix-en-Provence, Feb. 17, 1853, *ibid.,* 370, plaq. 2.

[67] PG Lyon, Mar. 5, 1853, *ibid.,* 379, plaq. 3.

[68] Dozens of cases, with specimens of "seditious" literature, from 1852 to 1859 are collected in *ibid.,* 405, P802.

[69] Many such reports, usually classified "confidential," appeared in official correspondence during the 1850's.

[70] E.g., PG Nîmes, Dec. 12, 1857, AN, BB[30] 382, plaq. 3.

[71] PG Lyon, May 14, 1854, *ibid.,* 379, plaq. 3.

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Or the refugees were suspected of planning a "frightful *jacquerie*" during which the workers would attack the upper classes with "fire, assassination, and pillage."[72]

Those suspicions of French officials appeared most justified in January 1858 when Felice Orsini made an attempt on the life of Louis Napoleon, the most spectacular of a long series of assassination attempts on the Emperor, all of which were associated with the refugees in England. Feeling ran high on both sides of the Channel. George Holyoake, J. B. Leno, and others in London published "tyrannicide literature," while M. C. de Bussy in *Les conspirateurs en Angleterre* and numerous French newspapers presented the case against the exiles. Stanisłaus Tchorzewski, a Polish refugee, and Edward Truelove, an English bookseller, were arrested in London for distributing inflammatory tracts written by Pyat and others. When Pyat defended the two men in his *Lettre au parlement et à la presse,* a leading French newspaper expressed its horror at this "apologie du régicide" and called the attention of the British government to the existence of the "fanatical hirelings and cut-throats" living in London.[73]

The part of Orsini's attempt that aroused most controversy concerned a refugee, Simon Bernard, "le clubiste" and a "real Jacobin," who was believed to have manufactured the bomb used by the would-be assassin.[74] The French government made a formal request for the extradition of Bernard.[75] Palmerston refused this request, but brought into Parliament a "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," which would have made participation in any action relating to conspiracy a criminal offense. When the bill reached the floor for second reading, however, it was attacked as the "French Colonels' Bill" and failed to pass. When Bernard was subsequently brought to trial for having illegally manufactured explosives, the jury, influenced by patriotic opposition to the "continental tyrant," returned a verdict of not guilty.[76]

The assassination attempt of Orsini and the trial of Bernard may well have been the most theatrical episodes in the decadelong struggle between the exiled revolutionaries and the French police. Ironically, these events came when the revolutionary fervor was abating. There were indications, more-

[72] PG Paris to Minister of Interior, July 14, 1854, *ibid.*, F[18] 300.

[73] *Constitutionnel,* Mar. 3, 1858.

[74] See G. J. Holyoake, *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life* (2 vols., London, 1900), II, 31–34, for a description of Bernard.

[75] This was the only time that the French government requested specific action against any of the exiles. See Palmerston's statement on this subject in Commons, Mar. 1, 1853, Thomas C. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates,* 3d Ser. (356 vols., London, 1830–91), CXXIV, 805.

[76] For comments on the Bernard trial, see London *Times,* Apr. 9, 1858, *The People's Paper,* Apr. 24, 1858, and M. C. de Bussy, *Les conspirateurs en Angleterre, 1848–1858* (Paris, 1858), 219 ff.

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over, that the French government itself no longer regarded the exiles as worthy political opponents. As early as the spring of 1856, rumors of a political amnesty had swept through the London community of exiles,[77] and in the fall of 1857 *Revue des deux mondes* announced that "the days of the revolutionaries are over" and that France need no longer fear the activities of those advocating the violent overthrow of the government.[78] The debate within France over electoral opposition to the government also dampened the ardor of the exiles. In June 1857 Ledru-Rollin abandoned opposition to any participation in the affairs of the Second Empire and advised his followers in France to vote against Napoleon at the next election. In the same month Alphonse Esquiros became the London correspondent of *Revue des deux mondes* and left the revolutionary camp, never to return.

Throughout the 1850's Louis Napoleon had already granted political amnesties and pardons. Police administrators protested and claimed that returning refugees were unrepentant subversives, representatives of the "Committee of London."[79] Officials argued that such "scandalous pardons" and blanket amnesties, although admirable in theory, brought back into French society a group of "ingrates and assassins."[80] In 1858 the *procureur-général* of Paris strained the limits of administrative tact in a vehement protest that indicated years of administrative frustration. If supported by the Emperor, he declared, the administration in general and the magistracy in particular could do their work effectively. But imperial pardons had become a "kind of rule passing into custom," undermining the magistracy's prestige and confidence. "The magistracy," he complained, "feels uncertain and troubled when too frequently taught to doubt the justice of the laws and the equity of its own decisions."[81]

Louis Napoleon was not to be deterred. On August 16, 1859, it was officially announced that the Emperor was able "to accomplish the magnanimous wish that his heart has so long desired," and that "a full and entire amnesty is granted to all persons sentenced for political crimes and offenses or those who have been the objects of any measures taken for the public security."[82] A leading liberal Paris newspaper, *Le siècle,* stated that "there is no longer a

[77] Comments on these rumors appear in two newspapers edited by German and Russian exiles in London. See Johannes Ronge's *Londoner Deutsches Journal,* Mar. 22, 1856, and Ivan Golowin's *Russia and the United States Correspondent,* Aug. 23, 1856.

[78] *Revue des deux mondes,* Oct. 1, 1857.

[79] E.g., PG Aix-en-Provence, Apr. 17, 1853, AN, BB^{30} 370, plaq. 3.

[80] Prefect of the Gironde, confidential report to Minister of Interior, July 5, 1852, *ibid.* F^{1c} III Gironde 9. See also PG Paris, Sept. 10, 1855, *ibid.*, BB^{30} 413, P1262.

[81] PG Paris, Aug. 10, 1858, *ibid.*, 383, plaq. 6.

[82] *Le moniteur,* Aug. 17, 1859.

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single exile. A new era commences. The decree of amnesty applies to the persons condemned for the invasion of the Constituent Assembly on May 15, 1848, . . . and allows [François] Raspail, Louis Blanc, and others to return. . . . The amnesty opens the gates of France to Félix Pyat, Ribeyrolles, and others who were condemned for the insurrection of June, 1849, and to the representatives of the Legislative Assembly who were expelled from France for an indefinite period—namely, Victor Hugo, Schoelcher, Esquiros, and others."[83]

For some exiles the amnesty came too late. Faure and Rougée were dead. Ribeyrolles had left England in 1858 for Brazil, where he was to die three years later. Because of his suspected complicity in the Tibaldi plot of 1857, Ledru-Rollin was not included in the amnesty and was not to return to France until January 1870. Hugo refused to accept an amnesty, as did Blanc, who wrote that "to serve France in France would be for us plainly impossible; to serve her abroad is the only chance we have left."[84] But the majority of the exiles were prepared to return to France. Leroux, Esquiros, Colfavru, and hundreds of refugees left England in 1859, while Pyat, Gustave Lefrançais, and others followed in the 1860's. The 1859 amnesty brought an end to the struggle of the French political police and the exiled remnants of the French revolutionary movements of the 1840's.

Yet long before the amnesty, the issue had been decided. The defeat of 1848–1849 had been final, and all appeals against this verdict had failed. There were many reasons for this failure. Exile itself proved an effective deterrent to political activity, and physical separation from France was an almost insurmountable obstacle to revolutionary success. The political talents of the two leading French refugees—Blanc, chiefly a publicist, and Ledru-Rollin, a political orator—were stunted by the restraining conditions of exile. Revolutionary proclamations and repetitious declarations of faith in the revolutionary future were unsatisfactory substitutes for actual political activity within France.

Their revolutionary hopes frustrated, the exiles became engaged in the shady world of political conspiracy, although never to the extent assumed by the police. Because the refugees had little talent for such activity, the conspiratorial effort that they were guilty of was amateurish and without promise of success. Largely believers in the power of the revolutionary word, the exiles resorted to conspiracy only in desperation. Even Pyat, probably the leading advocate of conspiratorial activity among the exiles, was obliged to

[83] *Le siècle,* Aug. 18, 1859.
[84] Letter in London *Times,* Aug. 24, 1859.

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explain his reliance upon secrecy and violence. Arguing that only "the liberty to conspire remains; necessity makes the law," he justified revolutionary extremism in terms of police extremism. "The extremes meet one another . . . and we find that subversion is an enforced, logical fact and hence necessary."[85] The exiles entered into adventures in conspiracy in an offhanded and erratic manner, and their attempts were too often reduced to pathetic activities such as smuggling proclamations in rag compartments under locomotive boilers, packing revolutionary appeals in double-bottomed trunks, and hiding inflammatory pamphlets inside statuettes.[86]

Most important of all, the exiles were victims of a historical illusion. They failed to understand the popular support behind Louis Napoleon's political power and thus misinterpreted conditions within France. During the 1850's, the relative stability of the Bonapartist state made the exiles' revolutionary messages less and less meaningful to any possible audience within France.

It is doubtful that the exiles could have seriously challenged Louis Napoleon even if they had been allowed to carry on their revolutionary activity unhindered. But any possible contest with the government was made even more unequal by the political police. The suspicions and fears of the police may have been exaggerated, but police officials were effective in compiling information about the exiles and in using this information to frustrate the refugees' plans. The police took an interest in everything the exiles did, whether it was the creation of a Paris affiliate of the *Comité central démocratique européen* or Ledru-Rollin's correspondence with a real-estate agent in Paris regarding possible repairs to a house.[87] Constant police surveillance, combined with police use of press laws, a cooperative judiciary, and special administrative powers, countered any overt act by the exiles and frustrated their secret plans.

The police also played an important part in isolating the exiles from any revolutionary group within France. Police officials reported on "private conversations and confidences behind closed doors" of suspected radicals[88] and interested themselves in any "communications whose subject is difficult to guess but which doubtless must have political significance."[89] Fraternal

[85] Félix Pyat, *Lettre au parlement et à la presse d'angleterre à propos de l'attentat du 14 janvier* (México, D.F., 1858), 4.

[86] See Claudius Gallix, inspector general of Colportage, special report to Minister of Interior, Nov. 20, 1858, AN, F^{18} 297; prefect of the Isère to the *Commissaire de Police Départementale,* Mar. 2, 1854, AD Isère (Grenoble), 52.M.35, contains typical reports of material being smuggled into France.

[87] The police report on Rollin's real-estate problems is dated October 19, 1856, and is in AN, BB^{30} 366, dossier 2, pièce 182.

[88] See PG Montpellier, June 30, 1853, *ibid.,* 380, plaq. 2.

[89] PG Nîmes, Jan. 13, 1854, *ibid.,* 382, plaq. 3.

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associations and the working classes were carefully watched for signs of antigovernmental activity.[90] Police action contributed to the declining influence of the exiles, and as the years passed, the "Men of 1848" became increasingly marginal in important developments within their native country. By the end of the 1850's, they were largely revolutionary curiosities, their programs and declarations buried in the reports of police officials and in the columns of obscure newspapers and pamphlets.

[90] For a study of police surveillance of the working classes, see P. Bernard, "Le mouvement ouvrier en France pendant les années 1852–1864 d'après les rapports politiques des procureurs généraux: Documents inédits," in *International Review for Social History*, IV (Leiden, 1939), 231 ff.

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Hitler and the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*

REGINALD H. PHELPS*

IT is not easy to squeeze out of that enormous sponge *Mein Kampf* a clear account of Hitler's first association with the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* in Munich. He tells nothing of the party's origins and little of the six months from his earliest contact with it in September 1919 until its first public triumph, his proclamation of its program in the *Hofbräuhaus* on February 24, 1920. To summarize his narrative:[1]

Coming from the hospital in Pasewalk, where his temporary blinding by gas had confined him, he reached Munich late in November 1918, joined a replacement battalion at Traunstein, and returned to Munich in March. He remained there under the short-lived Soviet republics set up in April and was assigned to an army "investigating commission" shortly after the occupation of Munich by government troops early in May. He talked with comrades about founding a social revolutionary party. A lecture in an army citizenship course by Gottfried Feder on the dangers of international capitalism impressed him deeply. His energetic response to a participant who defended the Jews, in a discussion in one of these courses, led to his appointment as a "training officer" (*Bildungsoffizier*), and he found that he could "speak" to a crowd.[2]

One day Hitler was ordered to report on a meeting of the obscure *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei,* which, like any possibly subversive organization, in-

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[1] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (2 vols., Munich, 1930), I, Chaps. VIII, IX, XII; II, 518–25, 624–29. Among the innumerable secondary accounts of his early relations with the DAP, the following may be mentioned: Konrad Heiden, *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1932), 18–27, and *Adolf Hitler, das Zeitalter der Verantwortungslosigkeit* (Zurich, 1936), 76–84, 98–107; Walter Görlitz and H. A. Quint, *Adolf Hitler* (Stuttgart, 1952), 101–37; the dissertation of Ulrich von Hasselbach, *Die Entstehung der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei* (Leipzig, 1931), *passim;* and, most recently, Georg Franz-Willing, *Die Hitler-Bewegung,* I, *Der Ursprung 1919–1922* (Hamburg, 1962), 66–75, 80 ff., relying extensively on material in the NSDAP *Hauptarchiv,* formerly in the Berlin Document Center. See also, for some evidence of the army's role, the reminiscences of Ernst Röhm, *Die Geschichte eines Hochverräters* (2d ed., Munich, 1930), 100–108.

[2] Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* I, 226–29, 232–35. The best published documentation of Hitler's career from November 1918 until the summer of 1919 is in Ernst Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt in die Politik und die Reichswehr," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* VII (Apr. 1959), 179–85, 191–205. Feder, by profession an engineer, was already known in Bavaria as propagandist for "breaking the interest slavery" of "international capitalism," which became a major economic plank in the Nazi program.

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terested the *Reichswehr*. In a dismal tavern, the *Sterneckerbräu,* Hitler found twenty or twenty-five men, chiefly of the lower classes, listening to Feder repeat the address he had already heard that spring. "My impression was neither good nor bad," he writes. He would gladly have left after listening to Feder for two hours, but chanced to stay for the ensuing discussion and rose to smite verbally a separatist speaker. As he went out, a man rushed after him to thrust into his hand a small pamphlet. Lying awake the next morning in his barracks room, he opened the pamphlet, *Mein politisches Erwachen,* and found that its author had experienced a change from internationalism to nationalism like that which he himself had undergone twelve years earlier in Vienna.[3]

Several days later he received a post card announcing that he was a member of the DAP and inviting him to its next committee meeting. In a back room of the *Altes Rosenbad,* ill-lit by a half-ruined gas lamp, he met the committee: four young men, shortly joined by the *Reich* chairman. At last Hitler gives names: the *Reich* chairman was Karl Harrer; the head of the Munich local group (no other existed) and the author of the pamphlet was Anton Drexler. The meeting was painful—"small-town club business [*Vereinsmeierei*] of the worst kind." Yet he detected "good faith and good will," a longing like his own for a new movement.[4]

Never could he, with his "lack of schooling," have gone to one of the larger parties to face the condescension of their educated leaders and the impossible task of altering their ideas, but in the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei,* "this ridiculous little creation," he could change things and could shine among less than equals. After two days of troubled brooding, he made his decision and received a provisional membership card with the number seven.[5]

Hitler goes on to describe the depressing picture presented by the party: weekly sessions of the committee, which actually included the whole party membership; its "parliamentary" actions and its handwritten or typed invitations to meetings; the small triumph finally achieved when the use of mimeographed notices produced an audience of thirty-four. Then came more daring ventures: into the *Hofbräukeller* across the Isar, where Hitler spoke to over a hundred people; to larger halls, the *Eberlbräu,* and the *Deutsches Reich* in the Dachauerstrasse near the barracks. Over four hundred came to the party's seventh public meeting.[6] Now Hitler was in control, and after the resignation of the overcautious Harrer, the decision was made to try a mass meeting on

[3] Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* I, 236–39.
[4] *Ibid.,* 240–43.
[5] *Ibid.,* 243 f.
[6] *Ibid.,* 389–94.

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February 24 in the huge barrel-vaulted hall of the *Hofbräuhaus*. Red placards announced it; the hall was packed. After the first speaker (not named in *Mein Kampf*), Hitler rose to face an audience more than half hostile, elucidated the twenty-five points of the party's platform, and converted the crowd to unanimous support of every point. Thus, after nearly four hours they departed, and the fire was enkindled, Hitler declaims, to forge the sword that would give "Siegfried" his freedom and restore life to the German nation.[7]

What he offers is a heroic legend in half-naturalistic style, young Siegfried warbling his wood-notes wild in Munich beer halls. Some of this interesting legend is true, but Hitler had an ability to forget, or ignore, or invent facts and incidents even over as short a period as that from 1919 to 1924, and to rearrange them for artistic effect. Despite gaps in the evidence, enough documents exist to correct this legend.

First, there are the origins of the movement that was to conquer Germany. Here Drexler and Harrer are the principals, and the Munich locomotive shops, the elegant Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten, and shabby back rooms in shabby taverns are the setting.[8]

Drexler, a native of Munich, started this particular phase of German national racism (though no serious discussion can ignore its forerunners, particularly Theodor Fritsch and his journal *Hammer,* in many societies and political groupings before 1914).[9] Like Hitler, Drexler refused to accept the Social Democrats as the voice of labor and consequently lost a job in Berlin. In 1902, back in Munich, he became a locksmith at the locomotive works. Physically unfit for the army, he found an outlet for his patriotism in the *Vaterlandspartei* and in founding at Munich in March 1918, as an offshoot of a national movement, the "Workers' Committee for a Good Peace."[10] A speech he delivered to colleagues from the locomotive shops on March 7 urged Bavarians, especially workers, to strengthen their will to victory and called for action against profiteers and speculators.[11]

Early in October he held a public meeting, calling for a new "national

[7] *Ibid.,* 400–406.

[8] The following brief sketch of Drexler and the DAP is a summation of an intended larger study of this subject. See also Reginald H. Phelps, "Anton Drexler, der Gründer der NSDAP," *Deutsche Rundschau,* LXXXVII (Dec. 1961), 1134–43.

[9] *Id.,* "Theodor Fritsch und der Antisemitismus," *ibid.* (May 1961), 442–49.

[10] Anton Drexler, *Mein politisches Erwachen* (2d ed., Munich, 1920), 5–7, 12–15, 19–22, and "Lebenslauf," Mar. 1935 (typescript copy available through courtesy of his daughter, Frau Anni Widmaier).

[11] The *Hauptarchiv* of the NSDAP [hereafter cited as HA], No. 76, contains photostats of Drexler's outline of this speech, the resolution adopted after it, and the twenty-eight signatures of the participants. The *Hauptarchiv* and other material at the Berlin Document Center have been microfilmed by the Hoover Institution. The *Hauptarchiv* has recently been transferred from the center to the *Bundesarchiv,* Koblenz.

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citizens' league," urging "Bourgeois, workers, unite!"[12] The audience was largely hostile. The November revolution discouraged him only temporarily; a week later he was approached by a curious emissary, Harrer, and asked to form with his friends a "Political Workers' Circle" (*Politischer Arbeiterzirkel*). The circle became the first cell of the National Socialist movement.[13]

Harrer represented a different line from Drexler's national-social-labor platform. A reporter on the Rightist *Münchner-Augsburger Abendzeitung,* he shared the murky ideas taught among "intellectual" racists and was a member of the *Thule Gesellschaft,* which served as ally and cover in Bavaria for the semisecret, activist, violently *völkisch Germanenorden.* An affluent adventurer, Rudolf von Sebottendorff, had reorganized this order in Bavaria during 1918 and acquired rooms for it in the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten. Harrer was assigned to spread Thule ideas among the workers. He did not reach many, but he did reach Drexler.[14]

The circle, directed by Harrer, met from November 1918 at least until the following fall. Hitler could well have called these sessions "Vereinsmeierei." Harrer regularly presented the evening's theme—"Germany's greatest foe: The Jew," "Who is responsible for the World War?" "Could we have won the war?" From three to seven members (about a dozen different names appear)—artisans, small merchants, colleagues from the shops, and for a time a gentleman named Von Heimburg—sat about the table discussing the evening's topic. Bitterness against the Jews, the need of "enlightening" the workers, hostility to England marked the discussions.[15]

Clearly Drexler was the political figure in this assemblage. In December he proposed founding a party, and on January 5, at another small tavern, the *Fürstenfelder Hof,* he launched his creation, the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei,* before an audience of twenty-four, mostly friends from the shops.[16]

[12] Drexler, *Erwachen,* 23–26, and "Lebenslauf."

[13] *Id.,* "Lebenslauf." Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung,* 63, erroneously states that the circle was founded in October.

[14] Rudolf von Sebottendorff, *Bevor Hitler kam* (2d ed., Munich, 1934), gives a highly seasoned account of the *Thule Gesellschaft* and its relation to the DAP and the competing *Deutschsozialistische Partei.* Sebottendorff bought the foundering newspaper *Münchener Beobachter* in the summer of 1918, thus providing various *völkisch* groups with an organ. Thule was active in April 1919 against the Soviet rulers of Munich, and seven of its members were shot by the Reds as "hostages" on April 30. HA, No. 1497a, contains a copy of a report of Drexler's interrogation after the Hitler *Putsch* (PD VIa, *Vorführungs-Note,* Nov. 30 1923), with information on the circle and the DAP; documents of Johannes Hering in HA, No. 865, provide much material on Thule. See also *ibid.,* No. 78, typescript of a speech by Michael Lotter, secretary of the circle, "Der Beginn meines politischen Denkens," delivered on October 19, 1935.

[15] HA, No. 76, *Protokolle* of the circle, Dec. 5, 1918–Sept. 9, 1919, photostats, mostly in Drexler's hand, of fourteen meetings, with names of those present from Dec. 30, 1918 on; photostats of minutes of three further meetings, supplied to me by Frau Widmaier.

[16] Drexler, "Lebenslauf"; HA, No. 76, *Protokoll* for Dec. 30, 1918; *ibid.,* No. 78, Lotter, "Der Beginn."

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Even under the Leftist regimes in Munich that followed Kurt Eisner's assassination in February, the DAP and the circle carried on their twilit existence. An undated draft of a "discussion speech" by Drexler, possibly delivered at a Leftist meeting during this period, urged "the liberation of the workers, yes, of all humanity" and, with anti-Semitic overtones, "the sovereignty of a government borne by the popular will."[17] He barely missed arrest at the Thule rooms, where a DAP meeting was scheduled for April 29, and thus perhaps escaped the fate of the seven Thule members whose shooting the next day by the Reds was one of the chief sources of anti-Leftist and anti-Semitic passion in Bavaria.[18]

Henceforth the omens were favorable for a movement like Drexler's, under the rigid military regime and the prevailing hostility of the Munich bourgeoisie to the Left and the Jews. Army and police reports and minutes of cabinet meetings, to be sure, at first made little mention of the latter in 1919.[19] But army intelligence reports from July on showed an ominous undercurrent, breaking through in epidemics of anti-Jewish stickers, or "general railing" (*Schimpfen*) at the Jews, with the newly formed *Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund* and the *Thule Gesellschaft* obviously fostering this mood and directing the popular hatred against profiteers (*Wucherer* and *Schieber*) toward anti-Semitism.[20] Ernst Pöhner, the Munich police president who became one of Hitler's main allies, noted in his weekly survey early in September increasing economic anti-Semitism and in November reported that the chief demand of anti-Semitic propaganda was for "breaking Jewish loan capital and the disproportionate influence of the Jews in the leadership of the German people." Feder's dogmas of interest slavery were obviously catching on. Racist "excesses and illegalities" must of course be combatted, Pöhner wrote. A week late, on November 22, he stated that workers, too, were becoming interested in anti-Semitism, "especially the

[17] *Ibid.*, No. 76, has a photostat of the manuscript; *ibid.*, No. 77, one of the typescript of this draft.

[18] *Ibid.*, No. 78, Lotter, "Der Beginn."

[19] The minutes of cabinet meetings from March 19, 1919, to the end of the year contain only one passing allusion to anti-Semitism. The minutes are in the Bavarian State Archives, Munich (*Hauptstaatsarchiv*) [hereafter cited as BHStA]: *Ministerratsprotokolle,* MA 1946 B1, B2.

[20] The intelligence reports are found in BHStA, files of *Reichswehr Gruppenkommando* 4 [hereafter cited as GK4]. See, for the following, GK4, Band XI, Akt 1, *Lagebeurteilungen,* May 1919–July 1920; Band XXXVI, Akt 7, *Judenhetze,* July 1919–January 1920, a mixed file of *Reichswehr* and police reports; Band XLII, Akt 2, the weekly *Nachrichtenblatt* of the *Polizeidirektion München,* May 24, 1919–December 1921. Weekly reports of the *Regierungspräsidenten* of the governmental districts of Bavaria for the period April 1919–April 1920 are found in BHStA, MA 1943 I. V. IXC/20 I and II. They are valuable indicators of public opinion. A report on a nationalist workers' party appears in GK4, Band I, Akt 4, headed GK4, Abt. Ib, No. 468 *geh.*, Oct. 31: "Die Lage am 30. Okt. 19." It may refer to the DAP, but more probably concerns the rival *Deutschsozialistische Partei.*

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Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, founded only two months ago[!], already firmly established in Munich." "The anti-Semitic wave is only beginning," he noted.[21]

With this report, the DAP entered the ambiguous immortality of the police records. Its own records give an indication of how and when it grew. There are attendance lists for some eleven meetings in 1919, beginning on May 17, when ten members were present.[22] Hitler's close friend Dietrich Eckart spoke in August to an audience of thirty-eight; forty-two were present on September 12, when Hitler's signature first appears: "Gefreiter München 2. I. Rgt." His name appeared again on October 16, when the audience numbered over seventy, including Karl Brassler, contributor to the Rightist newspaper *Münchener Beobachter.* Finally the DAP achieved a long notice in the press. The *Beobachter,* not yet a party organ, reported on October 22 that Dr. Erich Kühn, editor of the Pan-German monthly *Deutschlands Erneuerung,* spoke on "The Jewish Question a German Question" and that afterward "Herr Hitler of the DAP discussed with passion the need for union against the common enemy of the nations, and gave reasons for supporting a German press, so the people can find out what is suppressed by the Jewish papers."

From this point, the *Beobachter,* the police intelligence reports published by Ernst Deuerlein, and a larger set of police reports in the *Hauptarchiv* help to check Hitler's memory.[23] His first formal performance for the party was in the *Eberlbräu* on November 12 (or 13), on a favorite theme, "Brest-Litovsk and Versailles." On November 26, before an audience of three hundred, he contrasted promises and reality under the Republic. Two weeks later, in the beer hall *Deutsches Reich,* an audience of equal size heard him declaim on "Germany facing her deepest degradation." After the Christmas recess, four hundred of the faithful gathered in mid-January to hear Feder; Hitler, following him, argued the justification for a workers' party opposed to Jews and capitalism. Dietrich Eckart drew a smaller crowd on February 5 (or 6). But Hitler's big push for a mass meeting had already begun.[24]

Hitler's stress on his affinity with the "ridiculous" little party has been

[21] BHStA, GK4, Band XLII, Akt 2, *Nachrichtenblatt,* July 12, Sept. 6, Nov. 15, 22, 1919.

[22] HA, No. 80, contains the attendance lists. Since occupation and residence are usually given by those signing, they are very important evidence of the decline of the old guard of Drexler's colleagues and the influx of intellectuals and the military from the summer of 1919 on.

[23] Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt," 205–11. HA, No. 81, contains police reports—only one of them identical with those cited by Deuerlein from the Bavarian State Archives—of the meetings of November 26, and December 10, 1919, and January 16, and February 6, 24, 1920; the series continues through December 3, 1920. The dates given for the meetings sometimes vary slightly (and inexplicably) in different sources.

[24] Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* I, 400 f.

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noted above. He remarks that he was "impoverished and poor," "one of the nameless ones," "one of the millions that chance allows to live or die, without even their closest environment deigning to notice."[25] This picture of the anonymous hero is of course part of his myth creation, for he was a rather well-known figure in Munich army circles when he first visited a meeting of the party, and he continued his activity for the *Reichswehr*—something he does not mention—during the months when, according to *Mein Kampf,* he was devoting himself to the party. Deuerlein's documentation[26] tells of Hitler's early participation in the courses organized by Captain Karl Mayr of the Munich *Reichswehr,* who, impressed by Hitler's rhetorical talents, assigned him to the *Kommando Beyschlag,* which indoctrinated returning prisoners of war at the transit camp Lechfeld. Here, late in August, Hitler lectured on "Peace Terms and Reconstruction" and "Social and Economic Slogans." The fan mail of the participants leaves no doubt of their enthusiasm for his "temperamentvolle Vorträge." The charisma was at work.

Thus it was not as the unknown soldier that Hitler joined the DAP. His two careers, army and politics, ran side by side. He is listed in January and February 1920 as a lecturer in the "citizenship continuation courses" conducted for soldiers by the *Reichswehr:* "Herr Hittler" beside such dignitaries as the Munich University historians K. A. von Müller and Paul Joachimsen.[27] He spoke on "The Peace of Versailles" and "The Political Parties and Their Significance," delivering one of his lectures on February 25, the afternoon following his presentation of the party program at the *Hofbräuhaus.* One month later he was discharged from the army, and Captain Mayr's strange plant was definitively transferred to even more fertile soil. None of this is in *Mein Kampf.*

What of the other side—the gloomy little group of members, always the same, according to Hitler, meeting as the "committee" of the DAP? Here the documents are less revealing. One difficulty is the unclear distinction between *Arbeiterzirkel* and committee. The former evidently remained as a secret inner circle, Harrer's pet, dutifully chewing its cud.[28] Drexler's draft of the minutes of the circle meeting of November 16 (a photostat was provided by Frau Anni Widmaier) records Hitler's first visit: "Present: Herr Harrer Drexler Hitler as new member. Introduction of Herr Hitler into the spirit

[25] *Ibid.,* 243.

[26] For the following, see Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt," 179, 182–84, 191–93, 196–98, 200–205.

[27] BHStA, GK4, Band VII, Akt 2: RWGK4/*Leitung der staatsbürgerlichen Fortbildungskurse, Zeiteinteilung für den 1. Kurs (13.I. bis 31.I.20),* Jan. 8, 1920, and a similar schedule for the second course, dated Feb. 5, 1920.

[28] HA, No. 77, *Politischer Arbeiterzirkel/Satzungen,* n. d., one page, carbon copy; they were distributed at the circle meeting of May 13. (HA, No. 76, *Protokolle.*)

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of the circle, by Hr. Harrer. Reading of letters received, and replies to them. It was resolved to elect a committee to prepare for the setting up [*Aufstellung,* presumably of a program], with the following members: Harrer, Dr. Feder, Dr. [Paul] Tafel, Hitler, Drexler. Following this, discussion of the party program. Foundation of an anti-Semitic association [*Arbeitsgesellschaft*? word unclear]."[29] Evidently Hitler was also present at a circle meeting on November 24, where he consented to become director of a party speakers' school. It is still uncertain whether he was number 7 in the circle, as its first secretary, Lotter, contends, or number 7 of the party committee, as Drexler and Rudolf Schüssler, later business manager of the party, have it. The latter is more probable, considering the fluctuating membership of the circle and Drexler's precise statement. In any case, Hitler was never party member number 7. The attendance lists of meetings in 1919 consistently show more than seven present; Drexler indicates that there were nearly a hundred members before Hitler joined. His official number was 555 (no magic in that!) on the first party membership lists, set up alphabetically and beginning with number 501 to give the impression of greater size. To crown this legend, "555" was erased from his membership card and "7" inserted.[30]

The imperialist Hitler could of course tolerate no other leaders in the party. In December he drafted regulations for the committee, previously organized as a normal parliamentary body, to give it full authority and to ban any "side government" by a "circle or lodge"—obviously aimed at Harrer, who bowed out of office and party early in January 1920.[31]

Meanwhile horizons were broadening, and money, in driblets, but enough for some expansion, came in. Thus the peripatetic party late in December rented (for fifty marks a month, in advance, light and heat extra) a ground

[29] *Ibid.,* No. 78, Lotter, "Der Beginn"; *id.,* letter to *Hauptarchiv,* Oct. 17, 1941. Both state that Hitler attended a circle meeting in September, but the minutes quoted and Drexler's evidence (see n. 30, below) outweigh these statements.

[30] See HA, No. 78, Lotter, "Der Beginn," and *ibid.,* No. 1372, letter of Schüssler to Dr. Uetrecht of the *Hauptarchiv,* typescript, Nov. 20, 1941. In January 1936 Drexler told Dr. Damann of the *Hauptarchiv* (HA, No. 81, *Aktennotiz* Damann) that Hitler first attended a circle meeting on November 16. This agrees with the minutes of that meeting. Drexler, outraged by distorted official radio "history" of the party's origin, drafted a long, angry letter to Hitler late in January 1940, of which Frau Widmaier has made available a carbon copy. In it he stated: "No one knows better than you yourself, my *Führer,* that you were never the seventh member of the party, but at most the seventh member of the committee, which I asked you to join as propaganda chief [*Werbeobmann*]." In this letter—never sent, since Drexler planned to forward it to Hitler after the war—are also the statements about the size of the party in September 1919 and about the "forging" of Hitler's party card.

[31] HA, No. 76, "Organisation des Ausschusses der Ortsgruppe München und seiner Geschäftsordnung," photostat of typescript [in pencil at top: "Dezember 1919/Geschäftsordnung Entwurf Hitler zur Ausschaltung Harrers"]. See also *ibid.,* No. 77, "Der Ausschuss der Ortsgruppe München," typescript, n.d. Lotter, "Der Beginn," mentions the disagreement with Harrer.

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floor room in the Sternecker.[32] More important, Drexler and Hitler set to work on a platform. The circle had considered this subject in May, with Harrer proposing three [!] programs: a basic one, a "working program" adaptable to changing circumstances, and a "party program" defining exactly its goals.[33] An early version by Drexler of the basic program stresses "idealistic *Weltanschauung,*" equal rights and duties, physical education, and "an open road for all talents for the common good." Much of it, except for the ominous phrase "Germany for the Germans," reads like a nineteenth-century reformist document.[34]

The circle, with Hitler, discussed the program on November 16, and on December 14 Drexler had a new draft ready. It was idealistic and nationalistic, familiar refrains, but now with new emphases, on the unity of the *Reich,* the exclusion of Jews and foreigners from government, the union of all producers (*Schaffenden*) against loan capital and interest slavery, and on bridging the gap between physical and intellectual workers, and a plebiscite to decide between a republic and a *Volks-Kaisertum.*[35]

In his letter of January 1940, Drexler indignantly reminded his *Führer* that "following all the basic points already written down by me, Adolf Hitler composed *with* me—and with no one else—the 25 theses of National Socialism, in long nights in the workers' canteen at Burghausenerstrasse 6." Together, then, and with the larger contribution probably Drexler's, they worked over the draft of the twenty-five points. The final version has some changes of order and emphasis from Drexler's draft of February 9. Profit sharing, a pet thesis of Drexler, was stressed less, while "land reform" received fuller attention; the newly inserted and repeated "We demand" (*Wir fordern*) sounds distinctly like Hitler.[36]

And so, with a program in hand and the tide running favorably, all was set for the great coup, the first mass meeting, still under the old party name, though by the beginning of March "National Socialist" was prefixed to "German Workers' Party."[37] Drexler read at the large meeting of February 5 (or 6) the party's first propaganda leaflet—"Warum musste die DAP kommen? Was will sie?"—with "anti-Jesuitism" added to the familiar slogans.[38]

[32] HA, No. 80, "Sternecker Mietsvertrag," Dec. 22, 1919.
[33] *Ibid.*, No. 76, *Protokoll* of May 13, 1919.
[34] *Ibid.*, No. 77, *DAP: Grundsätze,* typescript, copy, n.d.
[35] *Ibid.*, No. 76, *Entwurf DAP Programm 14.XII.19,* photostat of a Drexler manuscript.
[36] *Ibid., Auszug aus Programm vom 9. Feb. 20,* photostat of typescript, signed by Drexler. Hasselbach, *Entstehung,* 12, 19, 26–36, evidently relying on information from Drexler, discusses the development of the program.
[37] Curiously, the *Hauptarchiv* seems to have no account of this important change, which may have been explained by hopes of closer association with older German National Socialist parties in Austria and Czechoslovakia.
[38] HA, No. 111, has the text of the leaflet; see also Drexler's letter of Jan. 1940.

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Hitler makes much of the dangers of the meeting of February 24, though large anti-Semitic gatherings in Munich were no rarity by then. He tells of his personal management of propaganda, placards, and handbills and his fear that the hall would not be full. Drexler's letter tells it differently. He, not Hitler, proposed a big public meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*. In fact, he had to overcome Hitler's objections to it. Hitler does not mention that the red placards and the advertisement in the *Beobachter* neither listed his name nor alluded to the proclamation of the DAP program, nor that the "first speaker," proposed by Drexler, was a guest, not a party member—Dr. Johannes Dingfelder, a familiar *völkisch* and *Hammerbund* figure even before the war. Drexler tells of taking to Dingfelder a copy of the newly typed twenty-five points to explain what the DAP was about, "but one thing I did not tell Dingfelder was that a certain Adolf Hitler was speaking after him."[39]

The *Hauptarchiv* contains a manuscript of the speech "What We Need" (*Was uns not tut*) that Dingfelder had already delivered five times for the patriotic *Heimatdienst* and a carbon copy of Dingfelder's undated recollections of the meeting, entitled "Wie es kam!"[40] He recalls that on February 20 Drexler and Schüssler, both strangers to him, invited him to address the meeting; Drexler explained that no one else dared to. (Ten years later, Dingfelder adds, he found out that a Communist had threatened to shoot both Hitler and the chief speaker.) He arrived in the overcrowded hall, learned that the expected chairman, Drexler, had had a nervous collapse, and that four hundred Reds were present. He decided to avoid trouble by not using the word "Jew." Marc Sesselmann, a member of Thule and the DSP and an editor of the *Beobachter,* opened the meeting. For acoustical reasons Dingfelder stood on a table beside the huge tiled stove at one side of the hall. He got through his speech with no trouble; indeed, Sesselmann thanked the Reds for keeping quiet. Then, after a few comments from the audience, Hitler, "a thin man with a small moustache," walked to the front of the hall, and the Reds' tumult began.

Dingfelder's speech, eloquent at times, found the cause of the war in the general lapse from natural law and religion. He quoted Shakespeare and

[39] HA, No. 884, correspondence of Dingfelder with Julius Rüttinger of the *Hammerbund;* Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* I, 400–405; Drexler, letter of Jan. 1940.

[40] HA, No. 1214, file of Dingfelder. The only significant discrepancy from the police report of the meeting (see below, p. 985) is Dingfelder's statement that Sesselmann, not Hitler, presided. Here Dingfelder errs; not only the account in *Mein Kampf,* but an earlier article, "Zur Erinnerung an die Versammlung vom 24. Februar 1920 im Münchner Hofbräu," published anonymously in the *Beobachter* (Feb. 22, 1922), but clearly by Hitler, confirms the logical assumption that Hitler, not Sesselmann, ran the meeting. The *Beobachter* article, which to be sure mentions Dingfelder, already shows the legend formation at work: the "storm of jubilation" of the crowd, the hammering through of the program "point by point," and—a striking metaphor, missing from *Mein Kampf*—the feeling at the end "that now a wolf has been born, destined to burst in upon the herd of seducers and deceivers of the people."

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Schiller to show the beauties of order and brought in recent history—the murder of the hostages in Munich, Bolshevism, "people of foreign race"—to demonstrate the horrors of disorder. "I am a Communist too," he announced, "but in the *Christian* sense." "Selfless leaders" were needed, not those "spiritually blind, who stand under the influence of foreign races." He praised Paul von Hindenburg and Eric Ludendorff and concluded, "For us too a savior is approaching!" If Germans once reawaken to order, work, and duty, "the world will—must—at last find health through the German spirit!"

Hitler's short narrative of the meeting in *Mein Kampf* describes it as his personal, overwhelming triumph: how he pronounced point after point of the program "amid ever-increasing jubilation," until the mass stood "united by a new conviction, a new faith, a new will." He concludes the first volume of his book with "So the hall slowly emptied. The movement took its course."[41]

The hero legend of the conquest of the *Hofbräuhaus* as archetype of the conquest of Germany! The *Beobachter,* to be sure, was less emotional.[42] On February 28 a notice perhaps five inches long appeared on an inside page, over half of it devoted to Dingfelder's speech. It continues: "Herr Hitler (DAP) presented some striking political points [*entwickelte einige treffende politische Bilder*], which evoked spirited applause, but also roused the numerous already prejudiced opponents present to contradiction; and he gave a survey of the party's program, which in its basic features comes close to that of the *Deutsch-Sozialistische Partei.*" This one sentence is all there is about Hitler. The report notes that the discussion following was very lively, "but toward the end strayed from the theme," and that the meeting left the impression of a movement "that will force its way through under all circumstances." But what has become of the revelation to the masses, the "shouts of applause" that drowned out objectors, the resolute hammering through of point after point until the hall was filled with men "united by a new conviction, a new faith, a new will"?

Fortunately other papers reported the meeting, though the accounts in four Munich "bourgeois" newspapers are so similar that they may well be from a single hand.[43] They concentrate on Dingfelder. Typically, the *Münch-*

[41] Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* I, 405 f.

[42] The paper, which changed its name during 1919 from *Münchener* to *Völkischer Beobachter,* was still officially a nonpartisan *völkisch* organ, though in fact it stood closest to the *Deutschsozialistische Partei.* Only after political and financial crises, solved in part by the famous "loan" by Franz Ritter von Epp to Dietrich Eckart in December 1920, did the *Beobachter* appear as the NSDAP organ.

[43] Copies of the several press accounts are in the Friedrich J. M. Rehse Collection, Acc. No.

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ener Zeitung of February 25 sums up the rest of the meeting: "The Committee member Hitler presented [*entwickelte*], following the lecture, the DAP program, which among other things stands for a Greater Germany, opposes the Jews, and demands the breaking of interest slavery. During the discussion—cut short because of the late hour, but in part stormy—the leader of the unemployed, Braig, supported by a group of opponents of the DAP, spoke, with the rest of the gathering objecting, against the new workers' party."

Finally, the author of the police report in the *Hauptarchiv,* the fullest contemporary account, tells in detail what happened after Dingfelder's speech. Hitler rose to ring the usual changes on Versailles, poverty, corruption, profiteering, and internationalism, and to read the program to a discordant audience: "Often there was such a tumult that I thought fighting [*Schlägereien*] would start any moment." After him, Sesselmann spoke, as did Braig, of the Independent Socialists, Ernst Ehrensperger of the DAP, and an opponent whose appeal for a Leftist dictatorship unloosed such an uproar that Hitler's final words were lost, and a hundred Independent Socialists and Communists thronged out on the street singing the "International," shouting "Down with Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and the German Nationalists!" This, and not the awed silence of a converted congregation, was the real conclusion of Hitler's first great public triumph.

Let us review the facts and fancies of Hitler's version of this crucial time. He stylizes his life into the *Märchen* pattern of the *Bärensohn* or *Starker Hans,* the male Cinderella, with the story of 1919–1920 as the central episode in his saga of the boy from Braunau who was to save Germany. As the coming savior, he must be unique; hence the dearth of reference to earlier, similar movements, the stress on the new *Weltanschauung* of the party, the omission of its early history and of its rivals, like the DSP, much more important at that time in Munich and Nuremberg and the north than the DAP. As the hero figure, he had to do everything great himself; hence the omission of the *Reichswehr*'s continuing sponsorship, the condescension or hostility toward Drexler and Harrer, the only early party colleagues he names, and the implication that he was the real creator of the program. As the player

11,564: "Berichte der Presse über obenstehend angekündigte Versammlung," Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The Independent Socialist *Der Kampf* and most of the "bourgeois" press reported the meeting; the *Bayerischer Kurier* and the Social Democratic *Münchener Post* evidently ignored it. HA, No. 78, Lotter, "Der Beginn," states that over one hundred new members, swept away by Hitler and the program, joined the party in the *Hofbräuhaus* at the meeting. Probably the most authentic membership list from 1920, however (photostat of typescript, by courtesy of Frau Widmaier), records no new members that day, thirty-six for February 25 (thirty-seven for February 5, and ninety-two for May 1, 1920).

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of the great role he must achieve things dramatically and suddenly; thus he obliterates traces of everything but himself in his fantastic story of the meeting of February 24.

But, with the exceptions noted, particularly regarding the party number and the *Hofbräuhaus* meeting, the myth is produced rather by stylization and omission than by invention. Most of the few facts he gives are no further removed from actuality than might be expected in the circumstances of writing *Mein Kampf*. But, in searching for the reality of Hitler, it is worth observing that the only scenes in the whole book sketched in full detail are those of his first visits to the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*. There, one can surmise, he found himself.

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British History, 1870-1914, Reconsidered: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the Period

JOHN CLIVE*

TO survey the important historical literature that has appeared about the period under review since World War II is to be brought up sharply against the realization that a revolution in historical writing is being quietly accomplished.[1] The familiar quadrivium of political, social, economic, and cultural divisions, hallowed by long usage and canonized by *The Oxford History of England,* is about to vanish, "into air, into thin air," but not without leaving many a bookrack behind. An approach to recent British history that takes account of the interconnectedness of these spheres and does not attempt the increasingly unrewarding task of comparmentalizing them is replacing it. More and more historians of the recent period have come to see their work as part of an endeavor to understand the structure and articulation of the various parts of modern British society as a whole, a society existing at a particular stage of advanced industrial development and subject to the stresses characteristic of such a stage.

This does not mean, however, that all good books dealing with this period necessarily embrace all aspects of British life. In fact, R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870–1914* (Vol. XIV of *The Oxford History of England* [15 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1934–]) has not yet been replaced as the best work on the period as a whole. It does mean that the best writing about the period shows an awareness of the impossibility of separating a particular problem or investigation from its wider ramifications, relationships, and repercussions. "What

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[1] This is one of a series of bibliographical articles sponsored by the Conference on British Studies under the editorship of Elizabeth Chapin Furber. For those already published in the series, see Philip D. Curtin, "The British Empire and Commonwealth in Recent Historiography," *American Historical Review,* LXV (Oct. 1959), 72–91; Maurice DuP. Lee, Jr., "Scottish History Since 1940," *Canadian Historical Review,* XL (Dec. 1959), 319–32; Henry R. Winkler, "Some Recent Writings on Twentieth-Century Britain," *Journal of Modern History,* XXXII (Mar. 1960), 32–47; Lacey Baldwin Smith, "The 'Taste for Tudors' Since 1940," *Studies in the Renaissance,* VII (Sept. 1960), 167–83; Paul H. Hardacre, "Writings on Oliver Cromwell Since 1929," *Journal of Modern History,* XXXIII (Mar. 1961), 1–14; Margaret Hastings, "High History or Hack History: England in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum,* XXXVI (Apr. 1961), 225–53; Robert Walcott, "The Later Stuarts (1660–1714): Significant Work of the Last Twenty Years (1939–1959)," *American Historical Review,* LXVII (Jan. 1962), 352–70; Roger Prouty, "England and Wales in Recent Historiography: A Selective Bibliography," *Historian,* XXIV (May 1962), 270–307; and Perez Zagorin, "English History, 1558–1640: A Bibliographical Survey," *American Historical Review,* LXVIII (Jan. 1963), 364–84.

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probably in the long run determines the shape of politics are the social movements, the groupings and regroupings in the mass of the community, which are beyond the reach of politicians," writes George Kitson Clark.[2] What politicians, and even statesmen, do or say may not be the most important part of history. As far as the historian is concerned, the dramatic events that supply newspaper headlines should often defer to the slow and silent changes in the way of life of a country's population, or of particular segments of it. To study the movements and groupings of society is to study the habits, traditions, unexpressed assumptions, instincts, and feelings that are part of those movements and groupings, and thus part of the new stuff of history.

In their intimate linking of the political scene with society as a whole, Kitson Clark's lectures reflect the general trend of historical writing during the last twenty years or so. To say that the importance of social history has been in the historian's consciousness since Voltaire and Macaulay and that the relation of political programs, postures, and platforms to the forces exerted by economic tendencies and class situation has been a commonplace since Marx would be to miss the point of this trend. For what has happened is also an expansion of the term "social history," from its original position as residuary legatee for those aspects of history which would not fit the traditional categories of politics, great men, and battles to a new position where the history of society is history, and a contraction of the extent to which the hidden underpinnings of the visible superstructure of words and ideas can be held to be primarily economic. Any living society is marked by the continuous interplay of diverse forces: some rational, others irrational; some ideological, others instinctive; some institutional, yet others the result of individual action. These forces mesh into each other so that to isolate one or the other in the search for a single or even a principal "cause" of events is to do injustice to the rest. Doing such injustice is, of course, built into the very process of writing history:

> Like following life through creatures you dissect,
> You lose it in the moment you detect.[3]

The best one can hope for is a consciousness on the part of the historian of the sins of omission he is inevitably committing, and an endeavor on his part to mitigate them, if only by the very fact of such awareness.

An excellent example both of the interconnectedness of historical tissue

[2] George Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England: Being the Ford Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford* (London, 1962), 240.

[3] Alexander Pope, *Epistles to Several Persons* (*Moral Essays*), ed. F. W. Bateson (London, 1961), 18.

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and of the historian's attempt to take account of it in his search for explanation is Joseph A. Banks's *Prosperity and Parenthood: A Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes* (London, 1954). Here the problem was to account for the reduction in the size of families which, before becoming general during the twentieth century, took place first in business and professional families during the final decades of the nineteenth century. This had momentous consequences, in terms of the changing role of women, the standard of living, the income spending priorities of a great number of people, and even, as Richard H. Titmuss points out in his *Essays on the Welfare State* (New Haven, Conn., 1959), in terms of changing mutual relationships between husbands and wives. H. J. Habakkuk has suggested that the initial period of falling fertility was associated with the deferment of marriage and that only later did the increased use of birth control within marriage begin to play an important role.[4] But what accounts for this increased use? Contraceptive techniques were certainly nothing new. Why did people adopt them more widely at a particular time? Part of the answer is to be found in the rise of the feminist movement.[5] Another part, dealt with as a general problem in H. G. Wood, *Belief and Unbelief Since 1850* (Cambridge, Eng., 1955), lies in the decline of religious faith with its corollary that Providence alone was to determine family size. Also to be taken into account is the increasingly pervasive scientific attitude that came to regard natural processes as susceptible of human, in the absence of divine, control.[6]

Meanwhile, public school and university education was becoming both more necessary and more expensive for the children of those who had prospered: more necessary since the major professions, with ever higher standards of admission and advancement, and the civil service, now thrown open to competition, favored the best educated;[7] more expensive because the supply

[4] H. J. Habakkuk, "The Economic History of Modern Britain," *Journal of Economic History*, XVIII (Dec. 1958), 486–501.

[5] See Joseph A. and Olive Banks, *Feminism and Social Planning in Victorian England* (London, 1962) and "The Bradlaugh-Besant Trial and the English Newspapers," *Population Studies*, VIII (July 1954), 22–34. On the changing status of women in general, see the indispensable bibliographical article by Oliver R. McGregor, "The Social Position of Women in Victorian England, 1850–1914," *British Journal of Sociology*, VI (Jan. 1955), 48–60. The same author's *Divorce in England: A Centenary Study* (London, 1957) contains a brilliant chapter on "The Victorian Family: Illusion and Reality," which makes clear how limited a view we have been getting by excluding the working classes from our consideration of the Victorian family. Margaret Hewitt, *Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry* (London, 1957), is useful in this connection. For statistical material, see David J. Glass and E. Grebenik, *The Trend and Pattern of Fertility in Great Britain: A Report on the Family Census of 1946* (2 vols., London, 1954). For a breezy account of the political aspects, see Roger Fulford, *Votes for Women* (London, 1957).

[6] See, in this connection, Noel Annan, *Leslie Stephen: His Thought and Character in Relation to His Time* (London, 1951), and Cyril Bibby, *T. H. Huxley: Scientist, Humanist, and Educator* (New York, 1960).

[7] See Roger K. Kelsall, *Higher Civil Servants in Britain: From 1870 to the Present Day*

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of first-rate education lagged behind the demand for it.[8] Education of a high order was not, however, merely a means toward professional advancement. It was also one way of staving off the potential threat to status and security represented by the growing number of those in white-collar occupations.[9] David Lockwood, in *The Blackcoated Worker: A Study in Class Consciousness* (London, 1958), has well described the affectation, mannerisms, and status aping that were part of the ambitious clerk's striving after the gentlemanly ideal in the late nineteenth century.

Material standards of comfort, no less than status, stood in need of preservation. As far as Londoners were concerned, this may often have meant a house in the outer suburbs, properly distant from the rapidly growing new suburban working-class habitations.[10] Such a house was expensive. Servants, then an essential mark of privilege, were increasingly difficult to acquire, partly as a consequence of the Education Act of 1870, which made it possible for many young people to seek other avenues of employment.[11] While the Great Depression of the 1880's probably did not reduce incomes, it helped to undermine the sense of expansiveness and security so characteristic of mid-Victorian prosperity. Thus, if accustomed economic standards were to be maintained, some sort of cutting down of expenditure was essential. Reducing the number of children per family would, of course, effect this. Banks deliberately resists the temptation to give primacy to the economic factor as a causative force behind the changing pattern of family size among the business and professional classes. We simply do not know enough yet to be able to judge with absolute certainty. Taking up such a problem is like throwing a pebble into a pond; the ever-widening ripples reflect the complex, interlocking network of forces that move human beings living in society

(London, 1955), for a discussion of the myth that the immediate effects of civil service reform were democratic.

[8] See F. Musgrove, "Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XII (Aug. 1959), 99–111; Harold J. Perkin's "Critical Note" on that article, *ibid.*, XIV (Aug. 1961), 122–30; and Musgrove's "Rejoinder," *ibid.*, (Dec. 1961), 320–39. On the public schools, old and new, in this period, the best book is still Edward C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860* (London, 1941).

[9] See Moses Abramovitz and Vera F. Eliasberg, *The Growth of Public Employment in Great Britain* (Princeton, N. J., 1957).

[10] The way in which these communities grew, thanks largely to newly available cheap means of transport, is brilliantly described in Harold J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, Eng., 1961). See also Thomas W. Freeman, *The Conurbations of Great Britain* (Manchester, Eng., 1959), and William Ashworth, *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning: A Study in the Economic and Social History of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1954).

[11] Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago, 1957), while holding that Forster's Act maintained rather than significantly accelerated the rate of increase in the spread of literacy, calls it a mopping-up operation for the children of the very poor. For the story of the workers' education movement, see John F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790–1960* (London, 1961).

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to action. He is foolhardy indeed who, at this stage of our knowledge, would make bold to assign priority to any one factor.

An investigation of the phenomenon of family limitation in the late Victorian period illustrates the necessity for taking account of the mutual involvement of different levels of human activity and motivation. We have seen that one of these levels was economic. More specifically, it might be labeled "Decline of Mid-Victorian Prosperity." The historical problems arising out of this decline, many of them related to the so-called Great Depression, do more than merely reinforce the need for this awareness of interconnection within a given society. They point up the advantages of another methodological approach that has yielded rich fruit in recent years: the substitution of precise detail for shopworn historical clichés, the desirability of piercing the veil of language in order to get at the actual historical reality, the attempt to use exact methods of quantification wherever possible and appropriate. Apparently simple and self-explanatory terms such as "middle class" and "working class" turn out much of the time to be bad shorthand for a multitude of variables, including regional and occupational differences not readily amenable to such summary treatment by the historian.[12] The difficulties increase with the use of catchwords like "Great Depression" to characterize the last quarter of the nineteenth century, catchwords all too often employed in the past as a substitute for historical explanation.

Not that there is any doubt that this period was one of social crisis. A combination of factors—Britain's changing position in the world, a succession of short-term slumps that underlined the plight of unskilled labor, the problem of Ireland and its English repercussions, the expansion of literacy and of political democracy—produced much heart searching as well as fact finding on the part of the privileged, and of action in the form of a struggle for social justice on the part of the underprivileged classes.[13] Helen M. Lynd, in her *England in the Eighteen Eighties: Toward a New Basis for Freedom* (New York, 1945), interprets that decade in these terms, and though her approach is at various points open to question, her book still repays close reading. Several recent volumes and articles supplement her treatment of unionism,

[12] On the difficulties associated with the words "middle class," see Peter Laslett, "The Solid Middle Class," *Listener,* LXVII (Jan. 4, 1962), 13–15; on those associated with "working class," see Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (London, 1957).

[13] Charles Loch Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society, 1869–1913: Its Ideas and Work* (London, 1961), and Thomas S. and Margaret B. Simey, *Charles Booth, Social Scientist* (London, 1960), contain good accounts of notable attempts made respectively to mitigate and to publicize the worst conditions. See also David Owen, "The City Parochial Charities: The 'Dead Hand' in Late Victorian London," *Journal of British Studies,* I (May 1962), 115–35; Kathleen Woodroofe, *From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States* (London, 1962); Herman Ausubel, *In Hard Times: Reformers among the Late Victorians* (New York, 1960).

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old and new. Benjamin C. Roberts, *The Trade Union Congress, 1868–1921* (London, 1958), has become the standard work on that subject. Both A. E. P. Duffy and John Saville de-emphasize the novelty of New Unionism and see the organization of unskilled labor antedating the dock strike, which thus becomes less of a critical landmark than it has been considered heretofore.[14] On the other hand, Eric J. Hobsbawm stresses the significance of the sharp distinction made in the 1890's between skilled and unskilled labor. Both sides kept to their proper stations and were thereby able to avoid serious clashes.[15] But the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor is by no means the sole distinction worthy of notice and study. In treating *A History of Labour in Sheffield* (Liverpool, 1959), Sidney Pollard demonstrates the importance of distinguishing between the traditional outlook of workers in the "light" (cutlery and silver) trades, and the more forward-looking attitude of workers in the "heavy" (steel and engineering) trades. The entire history of Sheffield labor during the latter part of the nineteenth century seems to have been very largely determined by fundamental differences of this sort.

The story of organized agricultural labor is told by George E. Fussell in *From Tolpuddle to T.U.C.: A Century of Farm Labourers' Politics* (Bucks, Eng., 1948). But by far the most vivid picture of what life was really like for farm laborers two generations ago is to be found in that masterpiece of the art of biography, Mabel K. Ashby's *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe* (London, 1961). Here one is brought close not only to the concrete, local manifestations of movements one usually reads about only in general terms—Primitive Methodism, agricultural unionism, depopulation[16]—but also to the even more important truth that many of the events that made headlines in London and, later, chapter headings in textbooks, bore little relevance to the daily concerns of country dwellers.

Can one really ascribe all the social tensions of the final decades of the nineteenth century to one great lowering black cloud labeled "Great Depression"? Taking nothing for granted, historians and economists have again asked such basic questions as "Just who was depressed when and where?" And they have obtained some illuminating answers. For one thing, given general deflation throughout the world and a generally undiminished

[14] A. E. P. Duffy, "New Unionism in Britain, 1889–1890: A Reappraisal," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XIV (Dec. 1961), 306–19; John Saville, "Trade Unions and Free Labour: The Background of the Taff Vale Decision," *Essays in Labour History*, ed. Asa Briggs and John Saville (London, 1960). On the dock strike itself, see Ann Stafford, *A Match to Fire the Thames* (London, 1961).

[15] Eric J. Hobsbawm, "General Labour Unions in Britain, 1889–1914," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., I (Aug. 1948), 123–42.

[16] On the general problem of depopulation, see John Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851–1951* (London, 1957).

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demand for labor in Britain, it appears clear that so far as at least a substantial number of workers were concerned, conditions improved rather than deteriorated. Real wages rose; the number of working hours per week fell. If there was a decline, it occurred in the returns from investments made by the more affluent classes, especially now that Britain's task as the world's railroad builder was finished, and savings were forced to move into other, less profitable channels.[17] For another thing, British industry as a whole was not so hard hit by the sudden influx of cheap materials and goods from abroad as has sometimes been assumed. A loss of strength, a check to industrial productivity, certainly took place toward the end of the century, but it was a relative rather than an absolute loss of strength. Furthermore, as Keith Hutchison points out in his useful and eminently readable *Decline and Fall of British Capitalism* (London, 1951), one must not omit the invisible items in Britain's international accounts. The dumping of cheap steel on Britain, for instance, proved to be a boon to the engineering trades, just as the dumping of beet sugar helped biscuit and preserve manufacturers.

In this, as in so many other spheres, the precise state of affairs is best established by means of local and regional studies, such as John D. Marshall's *Furness and the Industrial Revolution* (Barrow-in-Furness, Eng., 1958). Here, in terms of production and new construction, there was progress of a sort in the local steel industry. At the same time, the Great Depression "stalks through the Duke of Devonshire's diary," in the guise of falling profits, wage reductions, and unemployment. It is only by eventually assembling the evidence gleaned by many such studies—hopefully still to come—that we shall arrive at any kind of definitive conclusions about the effects of the Great Depression on British industry.[18]

What is true of industry applies in some measure to agriculture.[19] In the

[17] For the clearest exposition of this view, see Walt W. Rostow, *The British Economy in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Eng., 1948). For a critique of Rostow's views, see John Saville, "A Comment on Professor Rostow's *British Economy in the Nineteenth Century*," *Past and Present,* VI (Nov. 1954), 66–81. For the view that the British rate of growth in this period was closely related to economic conditions in the United States, see Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Community* (Cambridge, Eng., 1954).

[18] For an interim stocktaking, see Alfred E. Musson, "The Great Depression in Britain, 1873–1896: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Economic History,* XIX (June 1959), 199–228; for other regional studies, see William H. Chaloner, *The Social and Economic Development of Crewe, 1780–1923* (Manchester, Eng., 1950), and Theodore C. Barker and John R. Harris, *A Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution: St. Helens, 1750–1900* (Liverpool, Eng., 1954); for other studies of specific industries, see Walter E. Minchinton, *The British Tinplate Industry* (London, 1958), Ludwig F. Haber, *The Chemical Industry during the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Economic Aspects of Applied Chemistry in Europe and North America* (Oxford. Eng., 1958), and Peter G. Hall, *The Industries of London Since 1861* (London, 1962).

[19] This was shown by T. W. Fletcher, "The Great Depression of English Agriculture, 1873–1896," *Economic History Review,* 2d Ser., XIII (Apr. 1960), 417–32. This view is one of several modifications of Lord Ernle's account of the subject. A sixth edition of his classic work

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late 1870's bad weather, poor harvests, and cheap grain from the United States combined to create a major crisis for growers of cereals. Yet what proved disastrous for arable farming turned out to be something of a windfall for livestock farming, which benefited by cheaper feed prices. Furthermore, every fall in the price of bread brought with it a greater demand for dairy products and meat from the cities and the new suburbs.

All in all, we may agree with the judgment of William Ashworth in his solid and reliable *Economic History of England, 1870–1939* (London, 1960), that the late Victorians met the problems of the Great Depression far more successfully than has usually been thought. In fact, both Albert H. Imlah, in his *Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica: Studies in British Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and Samuel P. Saul, in his *Studies in British Overseas Trade, 1870–1914* (Liverpool, Eng., 1960), emphasize the resilience of the British economy during the last decades of the nineteenth century and see the continuation of free-trading policies justified by their success.[20]

If, in the sphere of economic history, studies of detail, whether of particular industries or of local conditions, have helped to clarify the picture, this does not mean that wider implications are lacking. Some of these are technological. For information on these one can refer to John Jewkes *et al., The Sources of Invention* (London, 1958), to Charles Singer *et al., A History of Technology: The Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Eng., 1958), and to the articles in the controversy concerning the check to industrial production in the 1890's. Is this check to be ascribed to the fact that steam and steel techniques were becoming increasingly obsolescent at this time, while the new techniques of electricity, the internal combustion engine, and novel chemical processes did not attain massive application until during and after World War I? Or were technical improvements in iron rather than in steel production more significant in this connection?[21]

The attempt to explain signs of backwardness in British industry takes the historian far beyond the realm of technology and once again into the realms of social structure and psychological attitudes. Habakkuk concludes in his *American and British Technology in the Nineteenth Century: The Search for Labour-Saving Inventions* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962) that what was

has recently appeared, with new introductions, which are in fact bibliographical essays of great scope: Lord Ernle, *English Farming, Past and Present,* ed. George E. Fussell and Oliver McGregor (London, 1961).

[20] For a general history of economic growth, see Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688–1959* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962).

[21] For the former position, see Ernest H. Phelps Brown and S. J. H. Jones, "The Climacteric of the 1890's: A Study in the Expanding Economy," *Oxford Economic Papers,* IV (Oct. 1952), 266–307; for the latter, see Dennis J. Coppock, "The Climacteric of the 1890's: A Critical Note," *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies,* XXIV (Jan. 1956), 1–31.

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basically responsible for the lagging of British behind American technological and entrepreneurial performance between 1874 and 1914 was a slower rate of expansion. His analysis touches on the following related factors: the "hemorrhage" of capital and ability from industry and trade into landownership and politics; the loss of drive among the second and third generations of entrepreneurs during the later stages of industrialization; persisting habits and attitudes, engendered by a reliably abundant labor supply, which militated against easy adjustment to mechanization and mass production; the giving way of mid-Victorian optimism before the doubts and uncertainties of the final decades of the century; and the prestige value of the professions in siphoning off talent that might otherwise have found a place in industry. Habakkuk does not adhere to the argument that British entrepreneurs were hampered by the absence of scientific skills, but emphasizes instead that recruitment of outstanding and adventurous entrepreneurial talent becomes more difficult in periods of slow growth.

For an assessment of industrial personnel in terms both of scientific education on the one hand and boldness on the other, Charlotte Erickson's *Steel and Hosiery: 1850–1950* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959) is invaluable. One of her conclusions is that the steel industry lacked bold, young men during a revolutionary phase of its development, between the 1860's and the 1880's. Prior to World War I few men with technical training or a university education were to be found in it.[22] On the other hand, the hosiery industry during this same period showed a greater response to changing industrial circumstances in the matter of social recruitment, successfully casting a much wider net for new talent. In the course of her investigation she shows one of the striking phenomena of social mobility in modern British society, perennially remarked on, but hitherto statistically undocumented: the ascent in social status by means of the appropriate kind of marriage. Steel men, unlike their counterparts in the hosiery industry, sought social prestige rather than wealth in their wives. Many more detailed studies are needed before any sociological generalizations about British society can be scientifically supported. Mrs. Erickson's book, nonetheless, is a good start; its very existence demonstrates the impossibility of putting significant pieces of historical research into neatly labeled boxes, with one or the other "subject" marked on them. For this is not merely a book about two particular industries. It presents essential raw material for anyone wanting to trace the history of the shifting patterns of social class in Britain.

Industrialists not only married into the aristocracy; they increasingly

[22] On the general subject, see Stephen T. Cotgrove, *Technical Education and Social Change* (London, 1958).

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became part of it.[23] Yet, if the composition of the British aristocracy underwent change through the greater frequency of commercial, industrial, and professional creations, and if, as David Spring has pointed out,[24] one can note a change of tone and manners in the 1880's and 1890's from those of the old nobility and gentry to those of the mess, the club, and the stock exchange, it would still be rash to speak too glibly of aristocratic decline in the period under consideration. True, the social and political advantages of landownership declined along with land market values as a result of the agricultural depression.[25] But for at least some landowners the reorganization of county government between 1888 and 1902 meant more rather than less administrative responsibility, and for them the traditional aristocratic ethic of service to the community remained undiminished.[26] Harold J. Hanham, in his *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone* (London, 1959), points to the persistence of the local political influence exerted by knights of the shire and by landed and industrial proprietors considerably beyond the second Reform Act and the introduction of the secret ballot. Late nineteenth-century politics, we learn from Hanham's book, should not be too readily postdated according to twentieth-century usages, even though the origins of modern party organization can be found in this period.[27] Many seats remained uncontested in elections. Electoral corruption had by no means disappeared.[28] Local party machinery was on the whole still quite weak, and individual personalities still tended to play the decisive role in local politics.

In turning from the machinery to the substance of politics in this period,

[23] See Ralph E. Pumphrey, "The Introduction of Industrialists into the British Peerage: A Study in the Adaptation of a Social Institution," *American Historical Review,* LXV (Oct. 1959), 1–16; William L. Guttsman, "The Changing Social Structure of the British Political Elite, 1886–1935," *British Journal of Sociology,* II (Apr. 1951), 122–34; and Harold J. Hanham, "The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England," *Victorian Studies,* III (Mar. 1960), 277–89.

[24] David Spring, "The Role of the Aristocracy in the Late Nineteenth Century," *ibid.,* IV (Sept. 1960), 55–64.

[25] See Francis M. L. Thompson, "The Land Market in the Nineteenth Century," *Oxford Economic Papers,* IX (Oct. 1957), 285–308; and D. A. Reeder, "The Politics of Urban Leasehold in Late Victorian England," *International Review of Social History,* VI (Pt. 3, 1961), 413–30.

[26] See, e.g., Lord Percy of Newcastle, *Some Memoirs* (London, 1958).

[27] See Robert T. Mackenzie, *British Political Parties: The Distribution of Power within the Conservative and Labour Parties* (New York, 1955), for a good account of the growth of modern party structures. On the caucus, see Trygve R. Tholfsen, "The Origins of the Birmingham Caucus," *Historical Journal,* II (No. 2, 1959), 161–84. For Liberal organizations, see Barry McGill, "Francis Schnadhorst and Liberal Party Organization," *Journal of Modern History,* XXXIV (Mar. 1962), 19–39; and Francis H. Herrick, "The Origins of the National Liberal Federation," *ibid.,* XVII (June 1945), 116–29. On Conservative political organizations, see E. J. Feuchtwanger, "J. E. Gorst and the Central Organization of the Conservative Party, 1870–1882," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* XXXII (Nov. 1959), 192–208.

[28] See Cornelius O'Leary, *The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections, 1868–1911* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), for a detailed study of the effects of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883.

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we find once again that conventional formulas and old-fashioned lines of investigation have been giving way to fresh approaches. To be sure, there can be no politics without politicians. Biography, therefore, remains one well-traveled road to historical understanding. Some important biographies of major figures have appeared in recent years. Sir Philip Magnus, in *Gladstone: A Biography* (London, 1954), treats his subject sympathetically, but does not gloss over Gladstone's errors of judgment. Aubrey L. Kennedy's *Salisbury, 1830–1903: Portrait of a Statesman* (London, 1953) gives us not merely the man of public affairs; it contains an illuminating discussion of Salisbury's religious views and of other important aspects of his character and personality. Roy Jenkins' *Sir Charles Dilke: A Victorian Tragedy* (London, 1958) centers around a thorough treatment of the famous divorce case and raises the possibility that Joseph Chamberlain may have played a sinister role. Robert Rhodes James disposes of "forgetting Goschen" and other legends and does justice both to the emotional and the political appeal of his subject in *Lord Randolph Churchill* (London, 1959). Robert Blake's *Unrepentant Tory: The Life and Times of Andrew Bonar Law, 1858–1923* (New York, 1956) is a brilliant study of the "gilded tradesman," with especially revealing sections on Bonar Law's succession to the leadership of the party and on Tory tariff and Irish policies in the years before World War I. Thomas Jones's *Lloyd George* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) is both more modest in scope and more reliable than Frank Owen's *Tempestuous Journey: Lloyd George, His Life and Times* (London, 1954). The first volume of Alan Bullock's *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin: Trade Union Leader, 1881–1940* (2 vols., London, 1960), is particularly good on Bevin's youth and on the conditions that drove him into politics.

Occasionally, a minor but significant figure is also well served. Such is the case with Aretas Akers-Douglas, Tory Chief Whip from 1885, whose role is well described in Eric Alexander, Third Viscount Chilston, *Chief Whip: The Political Life and Times of Aretas Akers Douglas 1st Viscount Chilston* (London, 1961), and with that "Fabian before the Fabians," A. J. Mundella, in Walter H. G. Armytage, *A. J. Mundella, 1825–1897: The Liberal Background to the Labour Movement* (London, 1957). New source material sometimes comes to light in printed form, as in *The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868–1886,* edited by Agatha Ramm (4 vols., London, 1952–61), and in Joseph Chamberlain, *A Political Memoir, 1880–1892,* edited by Christopher H. D. Howard (London, 1953). Good, brief accounts of nineteenth-century Liberalism and Conservatism are to be found, respectively, in John L. Hammond and Michael R. D. Foot, *Glad-*

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stone and Liberalism (London, 1952), and in Robert B. McDowell, *British Conservatism, 1832–1914* (London, 1959).[29]

Very little political history in the grand manner is being written at the present time, but as long as the political scene contains personalities as enigmatic as those of Disraeli, Herbert Asquith, and Lloyd George, there will be attempts to probe their motives and characters and to analyze their quarrels and friendships. And as long as secrets and mysteries remain a part of politics, it is the historian's job to try to probe them. It is, after all, important for us to know the details of the 1906 election deal between the Liberal party and the Labour Representation Committee[30] just as it is important to learn the inside story of the cabinet resignations of Joseph Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire in 1903.[31] No general analysis of, say, the relationship of political parties to social structure would ever reveal that the Budget of 1909 was in all likelihood not intended deliberately to provoke the House of Lords to reject it, though Lloyd George was by no means unhappy over the prospect of a showdown fight with the upper chamber.[32] No amount of statistical research would tell us that it was Lord Knollys who played a crucial role in the royal involvement in the constitutional crisis of 1910[33] or that it was Balfour, on his own, who turned down the proposed federalist solution of the Irish problem during the conference held that same year.[34] History may lean on the social sciences; it will never become one.

Without unduly minimizing the significance of "straight" political history, it still remains true that the principal questions historians have recently been asking about the politics of this period do seem to be variations upon themes already sounded in this essay: the lag between traditional customs, attitudes, and habits of thought, and changing historical circumstances; the

[29] On the Radicals, see Simon Maccoby, *English Radicalism, 1886–1914* (London, 1953), and *English Radicalism: The End?* (London, 1961). On the Whigs, see Donald Southgate, *The Passing of the Whigs* (London, 1962).

[30] Frank Bealy, "The Electoral Arrangement between the Labour Representation Committee and the Liberal Party," *Journal of Modern History*, XXVIII (Dec. 1956), 353–73. For the historical background of this arrangement, see Royden Harrison, "The British Working Class and the General Election of 1868," *International Review of Social History*, V (Pt. 3, 1960), 424–55, and VI (Pt. 1, 1961), 74–109.

[31] In Randolph S. Churchill, *King of Lancashire: The Official Life of Edward, 17th Earl of Derby, 1865–1948* (London, 1959).

[32] See Roy Jenkins, *Mr. Balfour's Poodle* (London, 1954), for a thorough and lively account of the entire constitutional crisis.

[33] See Harold Nicolson, *King George the Fifth: His Life and Reign* (New York, 1953), which is especially good on all constitutional issues; see also Lucy Masterman's lively and revealing "Recollections of David Lloyd George," *History Today*, IX (Mar., Apr. 1959), 160–69, 274–81; and James Pope-Hennessy, *Lord Crewe, 1858–1945: The Likeness of a Liberal* (London, 1955), for some essential glimpses of the Parliament Act controversy.

[34] See Alfred M. Gollin, *The Observer and J. L. Garvin, 1908–1914: A Study of a Great Editorship* (London, 1960). This book is particularly revealing in its treatment of the close political relationship between Balfour and Garvin; it contains a good account of the tariff reformers and their policies, 1911–1912.

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need for regional and local historical investigation as one major means of doing justice to the richness and variety of concrete historical experience; the importance of quantification as a method for breaking down the easy clichés of both social and economic history; and, above all, the way in which historians of this period have been driven to study it, not in terms of isolated and compartmentalized topics, but rather in terms of the changing structure of British society as a whole. The best means of showing these trends in political history is to pose some of the questions that appear to have been of the most urgent concern to recent historians of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain.

What forces besides the Irish troubles led to the Liberal breakup of the late 1880's? What role, for example, did issues such as the railway rates and land purchase questions play in alarming the propertied classes about the intentions of the Gladstone government, thereby driving them into the Conservative fold?[35] What was the nature of Conservative strength in the country at large? Did workingmen really vote Conservative in large numbers? If so, in what regions? To what extent was it rather the growing numbers of the middle and lower middle classes in the new conurbations that supplied Conservative voting strength?[36] Is the key to the long period of working-class acceptance of middle-class leadership and ideology to be found in the way in which individual industrial towns had dealt with the problem of class relations inherited from the Chartist era?[37] Are there significantly consistent differences in the political as well as the economic and cultural atmosphere of two cities such as Manchester and Birmingham?

Just how "socialist" was British socialism? In exploring the intellectual origins of the Labour party, should we assign greater importance to the "socialism of the heart," as represented by Ruskin, Carlyle, and Dickens, and later by William Morris, Robert Blatchford, and Edward Bellamy, than

[35] On this, see Walter H. G. Armytage, *A. J. Mundella, 1825–1897: The Liberal Background to the Labour Movement* (London, 1957), and "The Railway Rates Question and the Fall of the Third Gladstone Ministry," *English Historical Review,* LXV (Jan. 1950), 18–51, as well as the devastating reply by Philip M. Williams, "Public Opinion and the Railway Rates Question in 1886," *English Historical Review,* LXVII (Jan. 1952), 37–73. On the Irish issue as an important factor in driving the propertied classes toward Conservatism, see Robert C. K. Ensor, "Some Political and Economic Interactions in Later Victorian England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 4th Ser., XXXI (1949), 17–28. Asa Briggs, in his *History of Birmingham,* II, *Borough and City, 1865–1938* (2 vols., London, 1952), a superlative example of urban historiography, shows that even before 1886 several Birmingham businessmen anticipated Chamberlain's break from Radicalism, passing from the offensive to the defensive in politics.

[36] These questions are raised by Gordon L. Goodman, "Liberal Unionism: The Revolt of the Whigs," *Victorian Studies,* III (Dec. 1959), 173–89.

[37] For this view, see Trygve R. Tholfsen, "The Transition to Democracy in Victorian England," *International Review of Social History,* VI (Pt. 2, 1961), 226–48.

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to the "socialism of the head" of H. M. Hyndman and the Fabians?[38] What of the role here of the trade-union movement, both nationally and locally?[39] And that of religion, either directly exerted in the Labour Churches and in the strong Nonconformist influences on the Labour movement, or indirectly, in the way in which this movement fulfilled emotional needs no longer adequately satisfied by institutional religion, especially in the larger industrial cities?[40]

What was the real meaning of the Liberal triumph in the general election of 1906? Was it a triumph for the principle of social reform, or, as Balfour thought, international socialism? Or was it not rather that the voters condemned the new, not the traditional, elements of Conservatism and demanded a return to nineteenth-century Liberal policies of the Gladstonian type?[41] How clearly, in this and other elections of the period, did the electorate perceive the issues supposedly involved? Can one speak of 1906 as a victory for Nonconformity?[42] How many apparently large-scale changes of mind were in fact the result of population shifts and of varying polls?[43] To what extent was the social legislation sponsored by the Liberals in the decade before the First World War, in spite of its "socialist" undertones, still in some significant ways imbued with the individualistic premises of the Victorian age?[44] To what extent was it, like the other social legislation

[38] The contrasting phrases from R. H. Tawney, *The Webbs in Perspective* (London, 1952 and 1953); on Hyndman, see Chüshichi Tsuzuki, *H. M. Hyndman and British Socialism*, ed. Henry Pelling (London, 1961); on the Fabians, see A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884–1918* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962), and Margaret Cole, *The Story of Fabian Socialism* (London, 1961). For an appeal for a multiform interpretation, see Hugh L. Beales, "Three Octogenarians," *Political Quarterly*, XXXII (Mar. 1961), 62–70.

[39] On this aspect, see esp. Philip Poirier, *The Advent of the British Labour Party* (New York, 1958).

[40] For this approach, see esp. Henry Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880–1900* (New York, 1954), and K. S. Inglis, "The Labour Church Movement," *International Review of Social History*, III (Pt. 3, 1958), 445–60; see also the study of Sheffield by Edward R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London, 1957).

[41] Frank Bealy and Henry Pelling also stress the importance of regional factors in the results of the 1906 election, for example, Lancashire's particular aversion to tariff reform as a threat to the cotton industry, in their *Labour and Politics, 1900–1906* (London, 1958).

[42] On Liberalism and Nonconformity, see John F. Glaser, "English Nonconformity and the Decline of Liberalism," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (Jan. 1958), 352–63; see also K. S. Inglis, "English Nonconformity and Social Reform, 1880–1900," *Past and Present*, X (Apr. 1958), 73–88.

[43] This view was expressed by James Cornford in a paper on "The Transformation of Victorian Conservatism," delivered at a *Victorian Studies* Conference in Bloomington, Indiana, March 1962. It is to be published in Vol. VII (Sept. 1963) of that journal.

[44] For a most perceptive discussion of this problem, see Richard H. Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State* (New Haven, Conn., 1959) and the same author's introduction to *Lloyd George's Ambulance Wagon: Being the Memoirs of William J. Braithwaite, 1911–1912*, ed. Henry N. Bunbury (London, 1957). See also Brian Abel-Smith, "Social Security," in *Law and Opinion in England in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Morris Ginsberg (London, 1959). In the same volume, G. D. H. Cole, in an essay entitled "The Growth of Socialism," points out that while Lloyd George's reforms were antisocialist, so was the labor movement itself at the time. For a guide

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of the period under review, not so much a matter of "concession," but rather a social imperative, an essential response exacted by the social consequences of advanced industrialism?[45]

These are only some of the questions that are being asked about recent British political history. It will take some time to find satisfactory answers to them, in large part because many of the detailed regional and statistical studies required for such answers have yet to be undertaken. But if, in one sense, a contraction of the geographical horizon in terms of concentration upon local history is called for, in another and equally important sense the need for an expansion of that horizon is equally urgent. Just as historians are finding the various components of British society to be inextricably involved, one with the other, so also is it becoming increasingly clear that the problems of Ireland, of the Empire, and of foreign policy cannot be dissociated from the problems of British domestic history, social and political. It was Gladstone's Irish land legislation that, even before his conversion to Home Rule, was regarded as capable of future English application—and therefore as a possible threat—by British property owners, whom it helped to unite in defense of Britain's imperial position. It was the Irish issue that brought leading intellectuals such as Henry Sidgwick, Albert Venn Dicey, and Sir Richard Jebb into the Unionist camp.[46] And it was the Irish issue that played the principal role in splitting the Liberal party. Protests against coercion in Ireland were important factors in the rise of the socialist movement in the 1880's. The group of Irish nationalist members of Parliament, acting as a disciplined body under Parnell's brilliant leadership, served as a living example, crying out for imitation by an independent Labour party.[47]

Parnell was able to steer his party into a position in which for some years it controlled the political balance of the House of Commons. Lord Morley remarks in his *Recollections* (2 vols., New York, 1917) that it would require the pen of Tacitus or Sallust or Cardinal de Retz to do justice to such a remarkable character. None of these worthies has been able to heed the call. But Conor Cruise O'Brien's *Parnell and His Party, 1880–90* (Oxford, Eng., 1957), succeeds for the first time in penetrating behind the clichés of "mystery" and "inscrutability" to show how Parnell's chameleonlike role was

to sources, see Percy and Grace Ford, *Breviate of Parliamentary Papers, 1900–1916: The Foundation of the Welfare State* (London, 1957).

[45] H. L. Beales, in *The Making of Social Policy* (London, 1946), puts forth this viewpoint.

[46] John Roach, "Liberalism and the Victorian Intelligentsia," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XIII (No. 1, 1957), 58–81.

[47] See Theodore W. Moody, "Michael Davitt and the British Labour Movement, 1882–1906," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., III (1953), 53–76.

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quite consciously adopted by him, under the pressure of political necessity. The book contains a most illuminating discussion of the social composition of the Parnellite parliamentary party and disposes of many legends, including the one immortalized by William Butler Yeats that it was the bishops who caused the great man's fall. Francis S. L. Lyons, in *The Fall of Parnell, 1890–1891* (London, 1960), illuminates that tawdry last act of the tragedy by showing, for instance, that Parnell's overconfidence before the divorce trial was owing to his certainty that William Henry O'Shea was a conniving husband rather than a deceived innocent. Parnell's fall was not the end of the Irish story and its fatal interplay with English politics. The Irish Parliamentary party continued to operate at Westminster, though after the fall of its great leader it lost the unity, the discipline, and, above all, the masterly direction that had made it such a potent force in Westminster politics.[48] For the Unionists, Ulster remained a holy cause, and the lengths to which some of them were prepared to go on its behalf are graphically depicted in Alfred P. Ryan's *Mutiny at the Curragh* (London, 1956).

Lord Salisbury observed that it was Gladstone's fight for Home Rule that awakened the slumbering genius of imperialism.[49] The Irish question was part of the imperial problem as a whole, and the two realms are dramatically linked by that catalytic agent who, more than any other figure, seems to incorporate the principal currents and tendencies of the period within himself—Joseph Chamberlain.[50] For it was he who helped to split the Liberal party over Ireland. And it was he who when, in his attempt to push his more radical domestic policies, he saw himself frustrated by his new Conservative colleagues and outflanked by the growing Labour movement, made the imperial issue his own upon becoming Colonial Secretary in 1895.[51] Through Chamberlain, South Africa became a dominant factor in British politics—a channel, as one writer puts it, through which the mounting tide

[48] See Francis S. L. Lyons, *The Irish Parliamentary Party, 1890–1910* (London, 1951), and Eric Strauss, *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* (New York, 1951).

[49] On the question of the involvement of imperial with domestic issues, see Ronald E. Robinson, "Imperial Problems in British Politics, 1880–1895," *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, III, *The Empire Commonwealth, 1870–1919*, ed. Ernest A. Benians *et al.* (8 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1929–59). This volume contains a useful bibliography compiled by A. Taylor Milne.

[50] On Chamberlain, see Julian Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, IV, *1901–1903: At the Height of His Power* (4 vols., London, 1932–51), which continues J. L. Garvin's first three volumes on Chamberlain. For an important corrective to Garvin's summary of the Unauthorized Programme, see Christopher H. D. Howard, "Joseph Chamberlain and the 'Unauthorized Programme,'" *English Historical Review*, LXV (Oct. 1950), 477–91.

[51] See Peter Fraser, "The Liberal Unionist Alliance: Chamberlain, Hartington, and the Conservatives, 1886–1904," *English Historical Review*, LXXVII (Jan. 1962), 53–75, on how lengthy the process was before Chamberlain actually made up his mind to throw in his lot with the Conservatives, after his secession.

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of British imperialist sentiment could pour.[52] It is now certain that Chamberlain was at the very least an accessory before the fact of the Jameson Raid,[53] that tragicomic prelude to the unexpectedly grim war so vividly depicted in Rayne Kruger's *Good-Bye, Dolly Gray: The Story of the Boer War* (Philadelphia, 1960). If any, it is these years, from the beginning of Chamberlain's tenure at the Colonial Office to the end of the Boer War, that might justly be described as witnessing a "new" imperialism, expansionist in nature and sustained by some popular fervor. Yet, even then, Colonial Office policy was still basically consolidationist. It was Alfred Milner's belligerence rather than any waves of mass enthusiasm that drove Britain into the Boer War.[54]

Behind the imperialism of the 1890's lay a complex web of causation, ranging from economic slumps to the exigencies of European power politics. We now know that it is certainly wrong to speak, as John A. Hobson and Lenin did, of ineluctable pressures for new fields of investment exerted by monopoly capitalism as a primary causal factor.[55] As opposed to some long-accepted interpretations of the genesis of Victorian imperialism, we also know that its "new" version was both late in coming and short lived. In convincing fashion, John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, in "The Imperialism of Free Trade" (*Economic History Review,* 2d Ser., VI [Aug. 1953], 1–15), have argued that rather than looking at British imperial policy in the course of the nineteenth century in terms of a long period of "anti-imperialism," followed in due course from about 1870 by a period of "imperialism," we ought to regard that policy throughout as a function of the

[52] Eric Stokes, "Great Britain and Africa: The Myth of Imperialism," *History Today,* X (Aug. 1960), 554–63.

[53] On this complex question, see Ethel Drus, "The Question of Complicity in the Jameson Raid," *English Historical Review,* LXVIII (Oct. 1953), 582–93, and "A Report on the Papers of Joseph Chamberlain Relating to the Jameson Raid and the Inquiry," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* XXV (May 1952), 33–62; also Jean van de Poel, *The Jameson Raid* (London, 1951), and Christopher M. Woodhouse, "The Missing Telegrams and the Jameson Raid," *History Today,* XII (June, July 1962), 395–404, 506–14.

[54] See Eric Stokes, "Milnerism," *Historical Journal,* V (No. 1, 1962), 47–60.

[55] See D. K. Fieldhouse, "Imperialism: An Historical Revision," *Economic History Review,* 2d Ser., XIV (Dec. 1961), 187–209; Richard Koebner, "The Concept of Economic Imperialism," *ibid.,* II (Aug. 1949), 1–29; *id.* and D. Schmidt, *Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840–1940* (London, 1962). Nicholas Mansergh's essay on "Imperialism: The Years of European Ascendancy," in *Chapters in Western Civilization* (3d ed., New York, 1962), is excellent. On the specific problem of investments, see J. H. Lenfant, "Great Britain's Capital Formation, 1865–1914," *Economica,* XVIII (May 1951), 151–68, and Alexander K. Cairncross, *Home and Foreign Investment, 1870–1913* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), which shows that most of exported capital went to countries like the United States, Canada, Australia, India, and Argentina, rather than to the new possessions. For a critically modified restatement of the Hobson-Lenin thesis, see John Strachey, *The End of Empire* (London, 1959); see also Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social Imperial Thought, 1895–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), for an illuminating study, especially good on the Fabians and the Liberal Imperialists, of social imperialist ideas and their influence in Britain.

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need for integrating new regions into an expanding economy. This was to be accomplished preferably without force and without occupation. Yet, if circumstances required it, the use of either or both was sanctioned. The same two authors point out elsewhere[56] the paradox that the true founder of the British African Empire was none other than that so-called "little Englander," William Ewart Gladstone, who stumbled into Egypt in 1882 and remained there in bondage, unable to get out. A weakening Turkey and an increasingly powerful Russian threat to the Dardanelles meant that Cairo inevitably replaced Constantinople as the key to the vital route to India. As a corollary, Britain had to stay in Egypt, since the old and tried policy of leaving stable and trusted native governments in charge would no longer work in an age of burgeoning African nationalism. This meant that the entire Nile Basin had to be protected against any threatened encroachments by the other European powers. From 1888 on this need began to dominate British policy in Africa.

By the subtitle of Robinson and Gallagher's *Africa and the Victorians, The Official Mind of Imperialism,* the authors point out that what moved statesmen to act in one way or the other in Africa were not necessarily the realities of the situation there, but rather the analysis of that situation made in Whitehall. Thus an understanding of the workings of the "official mind," the mind of the British ruling class, with its prejudices and traditions, its notions of duty and of the national interest, is crucial in any attempt to comprehend imperial policy during the late nineteenth century. In spite of the much-touted arrival of democracy in the shape of mass electorates and the beginnings of modern party organization, that policy was still formulated in the main by an inner circle at the top, whose views of what was best for Britain transcended party differences and public opinion. Archibald P. Thornton, in his trenchant and witty *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies: A Study in British Power* (London, 1959), supplies a vivid account not only of the bylaws and membership of this "club," but also of the sources from which the loyalties of those who actually built the Empire derived. These men were individualists and men of strong character. Yet one should not underestimate the enormous influence of the institutions and groups that helped to cement their beliefs, attitudes, and prejudices: the public schools, Balliol under Benjamin Jowett, Garnet Wolseley's staff ring, Milner's "Kindergarten."[57]

[56] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London, 1961).

[57] Some proconsuls and generals have been well served by recent biographers, others less well. In the first category belong Godfrey Elton, *General Gordon* (London, 1954); Philip Mag-

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What was true of the making of imperial policy was true of the making of foreign policy. Whether the substantive problem at hand was charting a "new course" for Britain away from the Triple Alliance and toward the *Entente,*[58] or, subsequently, engaging in military staff talks with the French, policy making remained for a surprisingly long time the preserve of a small group of aristocratic statesmen, not, on the whole, subject to party controversy or to popular control by means of the House of Commons.[59] Foreign Secretaries became very discreet indeed at question time, conceiving of their role as representing the national interest, immune from domestic political controversy. Independent members became less powerful as party machines became more so, and with a great many Radical members of Parliament swallowing their distaste for the drift of foreign policy in the decade before the First World War for the sake of domestic legislation in which they had a bigger stake, a decided lessening of the tradition of dissent in matters of foreign policy took place.[60] Furthermore, fewer Blue Books on foreign affairs were published. Thus, somewhat paradoxically, as Parliament became increasingly democratic, it exerted less rather than more control over foreign policy.

On the one hand, this trend formed part of a general tendency that saw a decline of the power of Parliament in relation to that of the cabinet and the bureaucracy,[61] and, within the House of Commons, greater control by ministers in the interests of a dominant parliamentary majority, with the rights and powers of private members reduced to relative insignificance.[62]

nus, *Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist* (London, 1959); Leonard Mosley, *Curzon: The End of an Epoch* (London, 1960); and David James, *Lord Roberts* (London, 1954). Milner still awaits an impartial biographer, though he has lately received much sympathetic appreciation from John Evelyn-Wrench, *Alfred Lord Milner: The Man of No Illusions, 1854–1925* (London, 1958); Vladimir Halperin, *Lord Milner and the Empire* (London, 1952); and Edward Crankshaw, *The Forsaken Idea: A Study of Viscount Milner* (London, 1952). The singer of Empire has been more fortunate; see Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling* (London, 1955), and Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas," *Victorian Studies,* III (June 1960), 323–48.

[58] See Lillian M. Penson, "The New Course in English Foreign Policy, 1892–1902," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 4th Ser., XXV (1943), 121–38, and "Obligations by Treaty: Their Place in British Foreign Policy, 1898–1914," in *Studies in Diplomatic History and Historiography, in Honour of G. P. Gooch, C. H.,* ed. A. O. Sarkissian (London, 1961); see also Christopher Howard, "Splendid Isolation," *History,* XLVII (Feb. 1962), 32–41.

[59] See F. Gosses, *The Management of British Foreign Policy before the First World War, Especially during the Period 1880–1914* (Leiden, 1948), for an excellent treatment. Gosses, by the way, exonerates Edward Grey from any intentional deception of his cabinet colleagues in the matter of the Anglo-French staff talks, of which the cabinet did not learn until 1912. For a vivid popular account of Britain's entry into the war in 1914, see Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York, 1962).

[60] See A. J. P. Taylor, *The Troublemakers: Dissent over Foreign Policy, 1792–1939* (London, 1957).

[61] Gosses, *Management of Foreign Policy,* is especially good on this. On the specific question of defense and war policy making, see John Ehrman, *Cabinet Government and War, 1890–1940* (Cambridge, Eng., 1958), and Franklyn A. Johnson, *Defence by Committee: The British Committee of Imperial Defence, 1885–1959* (New York, 1960).

[62] See Peter Fraser, "The Growth of Ministerial Control in the Nineteenth Century House of Commons," *English Historical Review,* LXXV (July 1960), 444–63.

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On the other hand, selected members of the press often found themselves better informed on vital matters of policy than the House of Commons: witness Grey's irregular channel to John Alfred Spender of the *Westminster Gazette,* or Fisher's feeding of cabinet secrets to James Louis Garvin of *The Observer.*[63]

Whether any of the foregoing factors really played a decisive role in bringing Britain into the First World War remains open to doubt. So does George Dangerfield's conjecture, put forward in what is still the most readable book about the period, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London, 1935), that the combination of suffragette violence, Unionist intransigence over Ulster, and labor unrest might have produced some sort of internal explosion had not the outbreak of war come when it did. One must remember, for instance, that, as E. Phelps Brown points out in his important book, *The Growth of British Industrial Relations: A Study from the Standpoint of 1906–1914* (London, 1959), labor strife during the years just before the war was confined to the unskilled and to the miners and railway workers, while other sectors of labor remained undisturbed to a remarkable degree.[64] It may well be that, as Raymond Postgate remarks in his *Life of George Lansbury* (London, 1951), it was the very security of the period that made its extravagant aspects possible: "When the ice is many inches thick, skaters may caper as wildly as they will" (pp. 106–107).

Yet we might well ask: security for whom? A great gulf yawned between the brilliant life of the court, of society, of London literary coteries—the world of Sergei Diaghilev, "the Souls," the *Merry Widow,* John Singer Sargent and sables and ten-course dinners, of Eddie Marsh and the Georgians—and the world of Joseph Ashby and his fellow villagers at Tysoe, or the world of that third of the population of York whom Seebohm Rowntree's survey had found to be living in poverty.[65] And in between lay other worlds, mov-

[63] See Gollin, *Observer and Garvin.* On Spender and the *Westminster Gazette,* see Michael R. D. Foot, *British Foreign Policy Since 1898* (London, 1956). On other aspects of the press, see *The History of the Times: The Twentieth Century Test, 1884–1912* (4 vols., London, 1935–52), III; and Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe* (London, 1959). On Fisher and the navy, see the following works by Arthur J. Marder: *Fear God and Dread Nought: The Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher of Kilverstone* (2 vols., London, 1952–56) and *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era, 1904–1919,* I, *The Road to War, 1904–1914* (2 vols., New York, 1961).

[64] See also Eric J. Hobsbawm's point in "Twentieth Century British Politics: A Review Article," *Past and Present,* IX (Apr. 1957), 100–108, to the effect that the biographies and memoirs of middle-class politicians in this period (1910–1914) show them surprisingly unpreoccupied by dangers from the side of labor.

[65] On the court, see Virginia Cowles, *Edward the Seventh and His Circle* (London, 1956); James Pope-Hennessy's evocative *Queen Mary, 1867–1953* (London, 1960); Frederick Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns* (London, 1951). On London literary and cultural life in the years before the First World War, see Osbert Sitwell's classic treatment in *Left Hand, Right Hand* (London, 1944), *The Scarlet Tree* (London, 1946), and *Great Morning* (London, 1947);

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ingly recalled in some recent memorable recollections. There was the leisurely world of university life, of friendships and gossip and ideas, conjured up in Sir Lawrence Jones's *An Edwardian Youth* (London, 1956), in Leonard Woolf's *Sowing: An Autobiography of the Years 1880–1914* (London, 1961), and in Gwen Raverat's minor classic, *A Cambridge Childhood* (London, 1952). And there was the world of the Manchester "cottontots," their ideas rigidly set into the mold of economic individualism, their way of life combining hard work, charitable effort, and cultivated leisure, a world unforgettably re-created in Katharine Chorley's *Manchester Made Them* (London, 1950).[66] Here once again, as in so many other realms of historical investigation, easy generalizations and sacrosanct clichés tend to lose their force when confronted with the concrete variety of life actually experienced. At the risk of underlining the obvious, it should also be stressed that contemporary source materials, especially when they are of high literary quality, are still the best means of transport into the midst of the period. We cannot afford to do without Beatrice Webb's *My Apprenticeship* (London, 1926), George and Weedon Grossmith's *Diary of a Nobody* (London, 1892), Charles F. G. Masterman's *Condition of England* (London, 1909), or the novels of H. G. Wells, particularly *The New Machiavelli* (London, 1911), *Ann Veronica* (London, 1909), and *Tono Bungay* (London, 1909).

Only by steeping ourselves in the actual life of the period will we be able to avoid the treacherous pitfalls of glib categorizations. Terms like "Late Victorian" and "Edwardian," for instance, inevitably set off chain reactions of associations in our minds, destined in the end to mislead rather than to guide us.[67] The late 1880's and the early 1890's certainly mark a major watershed of modern British history. One may draw the line at the first Home Rule Bill, at Keir Hardie's entry into Parliament, or at the Local Government Act of 1894. Or one may draw it at the introduction of electricity, the gas engine, and the telephone. But value judgments, too, are involved. The word "late" bespeaks autumn and dusk, ripeness and decay. And one thinks of dandyism, decadence, and the Yellow Book[68] or of that decline from

see also Christopher Hassall, *Edward Marsh and His Friends* (London, 1959); on Rowntree, see Asa Briggs, *A Study of the Work of Seebohm Rowntree, 1887–1954* (London, 1961).

[66] For some very different aspects of Manchester life in this period, see Neville Cardus, *Autobiography* (London, 1947).

[67] On periodization, see Maurice B. Reckitt, "When Did Victorianism End?" *Victorian Studies,* I (June 1958), 268–71. On manners and fashions, see John Gloag, *Victorian Comfort: A Social History of Design from 1830–1900* (London, 1961), and Alison Adburgham, *A "Punch" History of Manners and Modes, 1841–1940* (London, 1961). Also James Laver, *Victorian Vista* (London, 1954) and *Edwardian Promenade* (London, 1958).

[68] See Ellen Moers, *The Dandy: From Brummell to Beerbohm* (London, 1960), and Katherine L. Mix, *A Study in Yellow: The "Yellow Book" and Its Contributors* (Lawrence, Kan., 1960).

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godliness and good learning to militant athleticism in the public schools which David Newsome has delineated,[69] forgetting the fact that this was also the period which, in the sphere of public morality, saw considerable improvements in the conduct of elections, and in which there was an increasing awareness that society as a whole rather than individuals bore collective responsibility for social ills.

One's judgment of decline, just as one's judgment of the entire period under review, depends on one's angle of vision. Thus, on the one hand, it makes just as much (if not more) sense for us to regard that period not so much in terms of a partial triumph of democracy, but in terms of the remarkably successful defense in depth put up against its total triumph by the governing classes and groups. On the other hand, it now seems eminently reasonable to regard the *fin de siècle* as a beginning rather than as an end.[70] Walter E. Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven, Conn., 1957) has recently taught us how much struggle and heart searching lay even behind the so-called normalcy of the Victorian intellectual equilibrium. Yet, granted that in Europe, as well as in Britain, the closing years of the century witnessed an inordinate amount of skepticism about heretofore widely accepted shibboleths—social, moral, and scientific—this fact in itself should give that "decadent" period a standing far more important than that of merely constituting the tag end of a heroic age. In those doubts and questions of traditional values we can now see the seedbed of our own problems and concerns. Those decades are closer to us in spirit than the ones that went before.

This, admittedly, is looking at the past with the eyes of the present—a perilous practice, we are told. But it is one that holds rewards as well as perils. The judicious historian should be able to guard against the latter, while garnering the former. It is because the British working classes today are no longer regarded as useful, dangerous, or charitable objects, but as an integral part of their society, that the study of labor history is flourishing, that no self-respecting historian would dream of writing the history of nineteenth-century Britain without devoting proper attention to the struggles and aspirations, the way of life and the culture of the laboring population.[71] It is because we are currently concerned about the successes and failures of

[69] David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies of a Victorian Ideal* (London, 1961).

[70] On the 1890's, see *Edwardians and Late Victorians*, ed. Richard Ellman (New York, 1960), and Ian Fletcher, "The 1890's: A Lost Decade," *Victorian Studies*, IV (June 1961), 345–54.

[71] On the cultural aspects, see Hoggart, *Uses of Literacy*. On the history of the working classes in general, see the *Bulletin* of the Society for the Study of Labour History (Sheffield), of which the first issue appeared in the autumn of 1960.

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the welfare state and of mass communications that we have become particularly interested in the origins of both.[72] The social scientists have taught us that in the study of an advanced industrial society, phenomena such as the growth of a white-collar class, of conurbations, of bureaucracy, and of a consumer oriented economy cut across both capitalist and socialist conceptions of property, and, even more important, political party differences.[73] It is because we have learned this that we tend today to be less concerned with speeches, slogans, and manifestoes, and more with changes in demographic patterns and in the structure of industries and occupations, and with the relationship of these changes to value systems, moral attitudes, and social habits.

[72] See, e.g., David Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the Welfare State* (New Haven, Conn., 1961), and Charles L. Mowat, "The Approach to the Welfare State in Great Britain," *American Historical Review*, LVIII (Oct. 1952), 55–63; above all, see Asa Briggs, "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, II (No. 2, 1961), 221–58. On mass culture and communications, see Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (London, 1958) and *The Long Revolution* (London, 1961); see also Richard D. Altick, "The Sociology of Authorship: The Social Origins, Education, and Occupations of 1,100 British Writers, 1800–1935," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXVI (June 1962), 389–404.

[73] See H. Stuart Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (Oct. 1960), 20–46.

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Reviews of Books

General

HISTORY: WRITTEN AND LIVED. By *Paul Weiss*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1962. Pp. 245. $5.85.)

PERSPECTIVES AND PATTERNS: DISCOURSES ON HISTORY. By *Warren B. Walsh*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 148. $4.50.)

APPROACHES TO HISTORY: A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *H. P. R. Finberg*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. x, 221. $4.25.)

HISTORY AND HOPE: TRADITION, IDEOLOGY, AND CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY. Edited by *K. A. Jelenski*. Postscript by *Michael Polanyi*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. vi, 208. $5.50.)

THE contemplation of Clio's navel is fast becoming one of our most prevalent academic avocations. Alien guildsmen have long been attracted, and now historians too are conquering their modesty. The activity feeds upon itself, for as its participants grow in numbers, sophistication, and variety, the yearning becomes irresistible rather to be than see one. These four books show how manifold historical self-consciousness now is, for we have to do with not only the different viewpoints but the entirely distinct issues that it affords.

Paul Weiss's *History: Written and Lived*—the one indisputably major work of the quartet—is philosophy of history in the grand manner. In it America's outstanding metaphysician extends his system to historical experience just as he has previously comprehended politics and art. Ostensibly Weiss devotes his first section to analyzing the procedures and assumptions of historians (history written) and his second to examining the reality of the historical world thus established (history lived). Actually, he strives first to understand historians in their own terms and then to explicate the philosophical relevance and coherence of these terms as he understands them. Although there are traces of Croce and Collingwood here, particularly in the overly rigorous integration of the historical into the moral and metaphysical, Weiss's treatment is much more open, much more flexible, and much more appropriate to today's history. Both his general approach and his specific illumination of historical time merit discussion by historians, but because he brings history to philosophy rather than the other way round it is doubtful that he will get it.

The practicing historian Warren B. Walsh approaches the same field in his

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Perspectives and Patterns, but neither the treatment nor the subject is commensurable. Consistent with the unsystematic character of his profession, his work is a set of discrete essays that finds the philosophy of history in the revelation, rather than the validation, of some assumptions characteristic of the working historian. Opposing the intrusion of anything more substantive than assumptions as unhistorical (he opposes both "Cheyney's 'Laws'" and the assignment of history to "science" on this score), Walsh finally accepts as constants only such discontinuous assumptions (in his terms "recurrent patterns") as the presence of continuity and change, the brotherhood of man, and the plurality of faiths.

With the English-bred symposium on *Approaches to History,* the historiographical issue becomes more internal still. We have here a series of essays by representative specialists of various historical subfields (political history, economic history, and so forth), occasioned by the claim that the growing division of labor is blocking communication among historians themselves. It would seem, then, that not only the external but the internal relations of history have become problematical, and these essays range from the informative presentation of the field, as in A. Rupert Hall's literate essay on the history of science, to its fundamental justification, as in Bindoff's defense of political history and Barraclough's argument for universal history.

And finally, to remind us, amid all these formal problems of history, that substantive issues persist as well, the symposium on *History and Hope* revolves around the question of history as an actual political force in the present and future. Led by Michael Polanyi on the one side and by Richard Lowenthal and Sidney Hook on the other, this publication from the proceedings of the 1960 meeting of the Congress for Cultural Freedom debates the role of the Enlightenment and of historical nationalism in the formation of the contemporary world and applies the variant historical interpretations of this role to the formation of future attitudes.

All these works are more successful in provoking questions than in providing answers that will find a consensus. Given the present state of the field, it is probably just as well.

University of Chicago LEONARD KRIEGER

THE NEW WORLD LOOKS AT ITS HISTORY: PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORIANS OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO. Edited by *Archibald R. Lewis* and *Thomas F. McGann.* (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies, the University of Texas. 1963. Pp. ix, 220. $4.00.)

THE greater part of this volume consists of essays loosely related to the theme of the frontier in history; these culminate in a discussion of the "Great Frontier"

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thesis advanced by Webb. The distinguished Spanish medievalist, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, contributes a paper on "The Frontier and Castilian Liberties," which emphasizes the free institutions that accompanied the repopulation of the reconquered Duero Valley during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Charles Bishko's essay on the later resettlement of the Guadiana Valley stresses the role of the military orders and the institutions that developed in connection with the transhumant pastoralism of the area. It is a model of careful research and disciplined interpretation. Philippe Wolff concludes the medieval European phase of this symposium with an all too-brief survey of the influence of the Spanish frontier on France.

The American aspect of frontier history is introduced by Ray Billington's paper on "The Frontier in American Thought and Character," an able statement of a Neo-Turnerian position. He uses evidence from the cultural history of the nineteenth-century Ohio Valley frontier to illustrate what he feels to be unique characteristics of the frontier in the United States and its continuing influence on civilization in this country. His conclusion incorporates some of the ideas put forward in Potter's *People of Plenty*. The French Mexicanist, François Chevalier, opens up an interesting field of study in his short paper on community and municipality formation out of expanding hacienda settlements in northern Mexico from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. The following essay, "The Texas Ranch," by J. C. Dykes, an agricultural expert, is something of an anomaly in this context for it deals with present-day conservationist practices.

The discussion of Webb's "Great Frontier" thesis is successful in placing that idea in perspective. It is politely qualified by Sir Keith Hancock, an Australian scholar; sharply attacked by Arthur R. M. Lower, a Canadian historian; briefly patted on the back by Geoffrey Barraclough; and most calmly and broadly analyzed by José Honório Rodrigues, a Brazilian historian. Rodrigues takes up ground between Webb and his opponents. He criticizes Webb's tendency to generalize from North American and even from Texas experience and his failure to take into consideration the main body of historical literature on the origin and character of the modern age. On the other hand, he gives due recognition to Webb's stimulating influence.

As a sort of epilogue to the volume there is included a group of papers on historiography in which the humanistic and philosophical tendencies in contemporary Mexican historical thought presented by Luis Villoro and Edmundo O'Gorman contrast with the eclectic and pragmatic views of Americans, strongly influenced by the social sciences and represented here by Arthur P. Whitaker and France V. Scholes.

The reader of this volume will get no impression of any meeting of minds between Mexican scholars and their neighbors to the north. It would have been interesting to have preserved some record of discussion of the papers read at the meeting. In spite of the miscellaneous nature of the contents, however, the dis-

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tinction of many of the authors and the stimulus here provided to further study on numerous topics relating to frontier history fully justify this publication.

Vassar College CHARLES GRIFFIN

THE PROGRESS OF ECONOMICS: A HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. By *Warren B. Catlin*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1962. Pp. 788. $8.50.)

IN writing histories of their discipline, economists have tended to use a chronological-biographical approach, with chapters on each of the principal men or schools of thought. Warren Catlin, who was for forty years professor of economics at Bowdoin College, has adopted an unusual topical approach in this lengthy survey. Several chapters comparing biographical influences, economic backgrounds, and style and composition are followed by a series of chapters on economists' views with respect to religion and economics, theories of society and the state, the gospel of self-interest, Darwinian economics, wealth, and social economics. Chapters on competition and monopoly, labor and the consumer, altruism, and population are followed by the more traditional chapters on production, consumption, and value and distribution. Six chapters on money, credit, and the business cycle, and a chapter each on international trade and the role of government in economic affairs, conclude the volume. The treatment of welfare economics is fuller than in most texts, and there are abundant bibliographical notes and detailed page references in the index for both authors and topics.

For those who want a comprehensive review of the literature with respect to given topics in economic thought within one cover, *The Progress of Economics* offers an excellent reference. The relaxed, informal style, full of interesting anecdotes and a wealth of nicely worded quotations and literary allusions is conducive to pleasant evening reading. It is obvious that Catlin has devoted much of his long life to the study of economic writings and that he has had a rich library to browse in.

Catlin almost grew up with the teaching of economics in American universities, and his comments on John Bates Clark, Thomas Nixon Carver, Wesley C. Mitchell, and other turn of the century American economists are particularly valuable, although the effect may be to give them undue importance in the history of thought. Considerably more attention is given to General Francis A. Walker than in most texts, probably because he was the founder and first president of the American Economic Association and because of his early refutation of the wage-fund theory, his recognition of the importance of the entrepreneur, his valuable work on the census, and his understanding of the baneful effects of deflation.

While the topical approach probably requires a higher degree of selectivity and maturity of judgment than the more common all-inclusive treatment of the

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views of each particular writer or school, and while it gives a clear conception of the way given laws or principles evolved, it has involved the author in a search for certain guiding and abiding principles. Catlin apparently believes that there has been gradual progress of the discipline toward the "truth" in economic analysis. But is there ever economic "truth" except under a given set of institutions and historical circumstances? Can it be said that what Marshall wrote was "truer" than what Smith, Ricardo, or Mill said? The "correct" view that the author arrives at is almost always the neoclassical position. The work of John Maynard Keynes, which most younger economists regard as truly revolutionary and salutary, is regarded by Catlin as a repetition of old truths under new labels.

In discussing each topic, the author is not only a detective ferreting out the contributions of each person and school; he is also a critic and judge who unhesitatingly expresses his own convictions. This editorializing may irritate readers who are accustomed to copious quotations in which each of the "greats" is permitted to tell his own story. The technique of analyzing each aspect of a writer's theory separate from the whole framework of that theory, and separate from the policy problem that led to its exposition in the first place, moreover, does some violence to an understanding of the factors that gave the theory birth.

While the present volume is of unquestioned worth, the student of economic thought will still need to deepen his understanding by referring also to studies that treat the various writers and schools and their ideas in their entirety and in their settings.

Utah State University LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

THE DAWN OF MODERN CIVILIZATION: STUDIES IN RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION AND OTHER TOPICS PRESENTED TO HONOR ALBERT HYMA. Edited by *Kenneth A. Strand.* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Publishers. 1962. Pp. 422. $7.50.)

TWELVE of the fourteen essays in this book are by doctoral graduates of Professor Hyma. Most of the titles are self-explanatory. They are arranged in five groups: "Northern Humanism: Its Ideals and Personalities," pertaining to Protestantism and Christian humanism, Erasmus' *De Duplici Copia Verborum ac Rerum,* and Lefèvre's debt to the Brethren of the Common Life; "Aspects of the Reformation in Germany," concerning Luther and the Peasants' War, Luther and the Brethren of the Common Life in Herford, and Luther and Anabaptism; "Religious Perspectives in the Low Countries and France," involving the native rather than French leadership of Calvinism in the Dutch resistance, why Calvinists led the resistance of the Lowlanders including Catholics, Antoine Arnauld's "De Fréquente Communion"; "Commerce and Politics: Controversy in East and West," covering the Dutch and Formosa, decline of Dutch commercial privilege

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in France, 1648–1657, opinions of Dutch Calvinists, Orangists, and Regents in the first war with England; "The Brethren of the Common Life and Their Contributions to Modern Civilization," on school organizational patterns of the Brethren and a brief survey of their concern with printing. By and large, this volume does honor the master.

Hyma is a scholar of very wide interests. If the editor recognized these five areas as his master's favorites, we may conclude that they are representative of his best researches. Surely, we are all in Hyma's debt for contributions to an understanding of the Brethren and also of Erasmus. The editor has supplied Hyma's curriculum vitae, a list of writings (with help from Richard L. De Molen), and, here republished, the original constitution of the Brethren at Deventer.

University of Oregon QUIRINUS BREEN

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION. By *H. Daniel-Rops*. Translated from the French by *John Warrington*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1962. Pp. xi, 435. $10.00.)

HENRI Daniel-Rops, elected to the *Académie française* in 1955 and invested with the order of the Grand Cross of Saint Gregory, has devoted most of his career to religious studies and to editing the *Ecclesia,* a journal published for a broad reading public. His historical writings culminate in his *Histoire de l'Église du Christ,* of which the fifth volume, *La Réforme Catholique,* covering the period 1500 to 1622, was published in English under the title *The Catholic Reformation.*

Beginning with a discussion of the nature of the Catholic Reformation, which he describes as being "in the direct line of ancient tradition," not merely a Counter Reformation, he traces in a lively, sometimes exciting, style the renaissance of "the Catholic soul" from the close of the fifteenth century to its culmination in the life and work of Saint Ignatius Loyola and the achievements of the Council of Trent. This is followed by a chapter on "The Rending of Christian Europe," a vivid and objective description of the bitter religious and political conflicts of Europe during the latter half of the sixteenth century as well as the spread of Protestantism to the Low Countries, Scotland, England, and Eastern Europe. Probably the best and most helpful chapter is the one on the missionary activity of the Catholic Church, particularly that of the Jesuits. In the final chapter on "The New Face of the Church," he portrays the revived Catholic Church in its baroque setting. Indicative of his devotion to Catholicism and of his conception of the Catholic Reformation is the fact that he brings his book to a close with a moving account of the canonization, in 1622, of St. Teresa of Avila, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Philip Neri, St. Francis Xavier, and St. Isidore the Husbandman.

Although Daniel-Rops evinces a strong devotion to the Catholic Church, he

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avoids polemics, concentrating instead on those dynamic qualities that made the Catholic Reformation a powerful force in history, and assessing its weaknesses as well as its strengths. There is no stronger indictment of those responsible for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, for example, than that found here. He refers, moreover, to the members of a "third party," consisting of such moderates as Erasmus and Rabelais, as "good Christians (Catholic or Protestant as the case might be)," whose existence in "the age of fanaticism" proved consoling. And he castigates the pride, inflexibility, and intolerance of both Catholic and Protestant leaders. Occasionally he minimizes the impact of the Protestant Reformation and makes unproven assumptions carried over from the period of polemical historiography. He maintains, for example, that "the Lutheran heresy . . . brought about the bloody upheaval of the Peasants' War" and refers to "the dangerous pride that exalted men such as Luther and Calvin." On the whole, however, he is judicious and fair, and his materials are well synthesized. The book deserves a wide circulation.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

THE CABOT VOYAGES AND BRISTOL DISCOVERY UNDER HENRY VII. By *James A. Williamson*. With the Cartography of the Voyages by *R. A. Skelton*. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 120.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1962. Pp. xvi, 332. $7.50.)

THE TRAVELS AND CONTROVERSIES OF FRIAR DOMINGO NAVARRETE, 1618–1686. In two volumes. Edited from manuscript and printed sources by *J. S. Cummins*. [Works issued by Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Numbers 118 and 119.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1962. Pp. cxx, 163; x, 165–475. $7.50 each.)

ONE of the fates that occasionally befell the early voyagers was that they were lost at sea without a trace. The same fate has possessed many of the historians of those voyages though, far from going to the bottom without a trace, they have left all too-elaborate evidence of the unknown elements with which they struggled. One of the most celebrated *ignes fatui* of scholarship of the Age of Discovery is the uncertain achievement of John and Sebastian Cabot. The evidence is so sparse, despite the addition of the John Day letter to the body of Cabot documents, that the unwary student must, almost of necessity, write an imaginative essay, or say very little indeed. James A. Williamson, culminating a half century of productive scholarship, has made a second attempt (his first was in 1929) to solve the riddle of the Cabot voyages. He has dutifully noted the dangers of what might be called the map disease—"a form of self-deception unrecognized by its victim and increasing its influence as his mind becomes more absorbed in the study"—and the

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dangers of what might be called historical probabilism, which encourages a convenient interpretation of obscure textual evidence. Although Williamson has noted these dangers, he has not escaped their effects.

Space does not permit a detailed examination of questionable interpretations, but Williamson's assumptions frequently go far beyond his evidence, as, for example, in asserting that "For Cabot Cuba was only a midway Atlantic island, and the continent lay far to the West." His examination of cartographical evidence is frequently careless, as, for example, in his comment on the Inset Map of Waldseemüller, 1507, as "expressing the dominant truth of the connection of the two Americas and their separation from Asia by an ocean not yet named the Pacific," which, while perhaps true for that particular map, ignores Waldseemüller's larger map of 1507 showing the two "Americas" separated, and the *Carta Marina* of 1516, in which Waldseemüller designated the new "continental" lands as part of Asia. Williamson's interpretations of such patents as those of Henry VII of 1501–1502 for Western discoveries vary between an exacting and narrow legalism and a wide-ranging laxity, neither of which is convincing. Williamson has contributed what is essentially an imaginative ordering, in the tradition of the great nineteenth-century scholars of the Age of the Discovery, of the infinite probabilities of the Cabot question. What seems needed is the application of stricter rules of evidence, even at the expense of reducing the commentary to the space occupied by the seventy-one documents upon which the interpretation is based. The documents, along with a short but valuable study of "The Cartography of the Voyages" by R. A. Skelton, fill out the volume.

Of a different order is the two-volume *Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete,* superbly edited by James S. Cummins, a worthy disciple of Charles R. Boxer. Cummins has brought together the autobiographical sections of Navarrete's *Tratados* and various references to his travels and experiences from other parts of the *Tratados* and from his unpublished works: the *Controversias,* the "Ends," and the "Ratificacion." Cummins has wisely retained the language of the translation of the *Tratados* published in 1704 by Awnsham and John Churchill in their *Collection of Voyages,* deviating where necessary and interweaving translations of the unpublished material. The result is a brilliantly readable edition of the pertinent writings of the man who played an important role in bringing into the open the controversy among Christian missionaries in China concerning the proper attitude to take toward the ancient rites and customs of the country. Nor was this controversy a mere theological tempest. It may best be compared to the ideological controversy now dividing the Communist world on whether to deal openly and violently, or peacefully and indirectly, with the "error" of its gigantic capitalist adversary, the United States. In the seventeenth century, when the West had an ideology, the question of how Christianity should deal with the greatest heathen power was a matter of similar importance. The Jesuits in China, for the most part, felt that the approach should be one of peaceful coexistence.

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Chinese customs and sensibilities had to be respected in the hope that the true faith, in all its rigor, would eventually be introduced at an opportune time. The issue had already been joined in China when Friar Navarrete, representing the opposing Dominican philosophy that there could be no compromise with error, published his great work. The airing of the controversy multiplied the damage to Christianity on its home ground, for it was seized upon by deists, Jansenists, and atheists to embarrass the Church itself. In addition it helped sponsor the enormous European vogue for things Chinese. No one can read Navarrete's awestruck account of the virtue, power, civility, wealth, good government, happiness, modesty, and so on, of the Chinese, and his equally bitter comments on the lack of such qualities in Europe, without succumbing. All of these facts are brought out in the lucid and scholarly introduction by Cummins which sets forth the importance of the controversies and their eventual outcome.

Few societies can boast such an enviable record of scholarly publication of source materials as the Hakluyt Society. These two volumes add to that reputaton.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION, 1789–1848. By *E. J. Hobsbawm*. [The World Histories of Civilization.] (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. xvi, 356. $7.50.)

How should a writer deal with those critical years between the French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848, when political, economic, social, and cultural institutions were changing more rapidly than at any previous time in history? Mr. Hobsbawm sees the key to the period in a dual revolution that shaped its entire course: an industrial one with its center in England, and a political one whose stronghold was France. It is from this viewpoint that he analyzes the growth of the factory system, the decline of the old agrarian order, the struggle between classical liberalism and the *ancien régime,* the altered social structure, the rise of new ideologies, even religion, science, and the arts. Out of a chaotic mass of seemingly unrelated data he has created a coherent account of a crucial era. What is more, he has endowed his narrative with style, spirit, and much erudition. He not only displays the mastery of factual material expected of a trained scholar, but also a critical familiarity with philosophy, literature, music, art, and science. His emphasis is of course on Europe, perhaps too much on England and France. But when he feels that the occasion demands it, he digresses into the taxation system of India, the attempted modernization of Egypt, the political traditionalism of Latin America, the social disintegration of Algeria, or the revivalist nature of Arabian Wahabiism. Indeed, the charm of the book lies precisely in its discursiveness. The novice seeking to familiarize himself with the period will probably find

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it bewildering as much as enlightening. The fare will be simply too rich for him. But for those who know something about the subject Hobsbawm will be fun. They will admire the deftness with which a sharp mind takes things apart and puts them together again, weaving apparently disparate developments into interesting new patterns, enriching a history of well-known events with original insight and apt allusion.

The final result is necessarily somewhat uneven. The author is at his best in dealing with economic and social affairs. His chapters on the world in the 1780's, on rural life, and on the growth of industrialism are brilliant. He is less effective with straight politics. His treatment of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars is sound and sprightly, but what he has to say about the later revolutions falls flat in spots, and his account of the peace settlements of 1815 and the concert of Europe is trite. As for thought and the arts, Hobsbawm is most persuasive in establishing the connection between society and the creative spirit. It is perhaps not surprising that he should be so compelling in his analysis of political ideologies, but it is also impressive to see with how much sensitive perception he can write about literature, the arts, and science. As for religion, he is too much out of sympathy with the main currents of early nineteenth-century Christianity to portray them with the same understanding that he displays, for example, toward the laboring classes. For him the most important religious forces of the period are to be found in Islam and in Protestant sectarianism. Yet the unevenness of the book is probably inherent in the author's original, highly personal approach to his subject. What he has written is not so much a systematic history of the age of revolution as rather meditations or reflections upon that age, provocative, penetrating, immensely learned, and at times highly controversial.

University of Wisconsin THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DEUTSCHLAND UND JAPAN ZWISCHEN DEN MÄCHTEN, 1935–1940: VOM ANTIKOMINTERNPAKT ZUM DREIMÄCHTEPAKT. EINE STUDIE ZUR DIPLOMATISCHEN VORGESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGS. By *Theo Sommer*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 15.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1962. Pp. xi, 540. Cloth DM 58, paper DM 52.)

GERMAN-JAPANESE relations in the two decades preceding World War II have a fascination of their own. During and immediately after the war it was generally believed that the two powers had based their policies on a closely coordinated master plan and that this plan was one of the major causes of the war. Since then, many historians—Jones, Iklé, and Presseisen, to mention only the most important—have made use of the evidence gathered at the International War Crimes Trials, the captured documents, and the memoirs of the participants, to disprove this theory.

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Thus, the present work breaks no new ground; nor does it claim to do so. The author's primary aim is to present the historical facts; he also illuminates the structure and function of totalitarian diplomacy as practiced by Hitler and Ribbentrop in Germany and by the extremist clique of the army in Japan. There is no doubt that Dr. Sommer has succeeded in his endeavor. The great value of his study lies in the detailed and thorough treatment of the subject. And while his conclusions on the major aspects of German-Japanese relations are not much different from those of his predecessors, his attention to and correction of the finer points of the story are of definite value to the student of this period.

Starting with Hitler's accession to power, the author traces the tortuous negotiations that brought about the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 and the Tripartite Pact of 1940. He believes that anti-Communism on both sides was a screen for imperialist expansion and that although the anti-Soviet orientation of both powers became the starting point of the German-Japanese alliance, this did not suffice to put it on a permanent basis. Sommer concludes that the alliance was without backbone, and though the partners profited from each other's moves, there was no planned coordination. There was, to be sure, a temporary meeting of interests in a few specific cases, but there was at no time a common German-Japanese policy. Their relationship was characterized by mistrust and quarrels, and each followed a policy of *sacro egoismo* with no regard to the interests of either the alliance or the partner.

In basing his study on all available documents, published and unpublished, the records of the war crimes trials at Nuremberg and Tokyo, and the numerous personal memoirs, the author shows an easy mastery of the great amount of source material. It is therefore regrettable that the footnote citations to the German documents are so confusing. Instead of citing serial and frame numbers of those unpublished documents which have been microfilmed, Sommer refers to the archival files which, except for one actually working in the Bonn archives, are largely meaningless. In many instances he ignores the fact that the document he is citing has been printed. It is equally unfortunate that he apparently did not see Volume XI of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* in time for his study, although this volume was printed in 1960. As a result, there are two errors that could easily have been avoided. On page 457, footnote 4, he states that he could not find telegram 1224 from Tokyo; this has been printed as document 299 in Volume XI. On page 458, he "guesses" that Ribbentrop talked to the Chinese ambassador on November 10. This conversation, which took place on November 11, is printed as document 315 in the same volume.

Aside from these somewhat technical considerations, this is a well-balanced, carefully prepared study.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

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Ancient and Medieval

THE MYTH OF EGYPT AND ITS HIEROGLYPHS IN EUROPEAN TRADITION. By *Erik Iversen*. (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad. 1961. Pp. 177.)

THIS work really deals with the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and its final decipherment in the nineteenth century. The Greeks and Romans had little knowledge of this writing and could not read it. Even in antiquity, the signs came to be endowed with mystical and magical properties. This tendency, carried on and developed in the Middle Ages, became one of the prominent literary and artistic devices of the Renaissance period. Not only that, but having been assimilated into the Neoplatonic tradition, the mystical signs and the philosophical properties attached to them became major elements in the tradition of Neoplatonism. Early attempts at decipherment are noted, and the final unlocking of the writing system by Champollion is well sketched.

The key chapter is the third which deals with the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In the earlier chapter on "The Classical Tradition" only literary works are used; much more evidence could have been found in the so-called "aretalogies" such as the long inscription from Delos and the Isis hymns found in inscriptions. But the real contribution is made in the tracing of the mystical interpretation of these signs through the literature of the Renaissance period. The use of these signs in Renaissance art is well known, but their employment in the philosophical system known as Neoplatonism is very well done here and is of great importance. The author notes, but does not pursue, the use made of these signs and of their Neoplatonic function in the origin of Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry, and modern theosophy. He notes dryly: "It must not be forgotten that the modern offshoots of these movements, even in their most debased and vulgar forms, are legitimate offspring of genuine Neo-Platonic traditions."

There are twenty-four excellent plates, a good index, and excellent chapter notes collected at the end of the text. The bookmaking is excellent, the type very readable, and the make-up good. There are a few typographical errors of the sort that typesetters and proofreaders whose native language was English would not make, but these are rare.

The author is an Egyptologist whose knowledge of the hieroglyphics is quite adequate. As an essay in European cultural history, the work is quite important in that it opens up a field of investigation that has been very inadequately explored. The peculiar linguistic competence required makes it a rather difficult area of research, but this work is well done. The command of Renaissance and early modern sources is extremely good. The book is highly recommended to those interested in intellectual history as well as those concerned with art and literature.

University of Missouri THOMAS A. BRADY

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NAISSANCE DE L'EUROPE. By *Robert S. Lopez*. [Collection Destins du Monde, Volume VI.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1962. Pp. 487. Cloth 58.50 fr., paper 51.00 fr.)

THIS volume in the "Collection Destins du Monde" covers the history of Europe from the disintegration of the Roman Empire through the thirteenth century. It is a handsome volume. The eight color plates, thirty-two photolithographs, and eighty-three black-and-white figures actually illustrate points in the text and are beautifully reproduced. The twenty-three maps, the work of Serge Bonin, are models of clarity and accuracy and are most instructive. There are chronological tables of main events in political, economic, cultural, and general history covering the period from A.D. 311 to A.D. 1349. There is a summary critical bibliography, followed by indexes of persons, places, and subjects.

This work of synthesis is of major importance. It remedies the deficiencies of the older series of general histories such as Berr's "L'Évolution de l'Humanité," Glotz's "Histoire générale," and Halphen and Sagnac's "Peuples et Civilisations" by paying adequate attention to economic, intellectual, and cultural history. But it does more than this. Taking account of the latest scholarship, it represents a fresh, well-balanced, and imaginative reinterpretation of the High Middle Ages. The author makes constant meaningful comparisons with the histories of China and Moslem Africa, and he has an eye for the concerns of the twentieth-century reader without falling into the trap of viewing medieval history through twentieth-century spectacles. It is invidious to single out specific sections of a work whose standards throughout are the highest, but to me, the sections dealing with economics, demography, and science are models of their kinds. The style is vivacious, perhaps sometimes a little florid, but one that makes the whole book exciting. In short, Professor Lopez has written the best synthesis of the period I have ever read.

It is my understanding that this work is also to be made available in English and Italian editions. Without detracting in the least from the estimate of its worth, it is accordingly appropriate to note a few slips and one or two points open to dispute. St.-Benoît de "Nurcie" appears twice (pp. 47, 165) as "Norcia." Although given correctly in the chronological tables, the date of Charlemagne's coronation as Emperor appears as "Noël 799" on pages 90 and 97. On page 141 in the Anglo-Saxon legal text (the date of which should be ca. 1029–1060 rather than "d'environ 1020"), the phrase "then was he thenceforth of thegn-right worthy" is translated "le voilà au rang de baron." The use of "baron" is misleading; "au rang de thegn" is preferable. On page 156 the statement is made: "De nos jours, il n'y a pas de famille qui possède un arbre généalogique authentique remontant plus haut que les dernières années du IX^{e} siècle." There are literally thousands of people in the United States alone whose genealogies, authentic albeit not by uninterrupted male descent, can be traced to the ninth century and even earlier. On page 249, Étienne de Blois was the grandson, not the nephew, of William the Conqueror.

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On page 250: "Presque tous les barons anglais . . . se coalisèrent contre lui. En juin 1215, ils le forcèrent à signer . . . la *Magna Carta.*" Those 45 rebel barons holding 39 baronies out of a total of 197 hardly constitute "presque tous les barons anglais." And while John probably could write, he did not sign Magna Charta; *read* sceller *for* signer. On page 336, "Cour des Comptes" is usually "Chambre des Comptes." Finally, the statement on page 338 that the English longbow was inferior to the crossbow in power and precision is surprising.

Emory University G. P. Cuttino

ANGLO-SAXON MILITARY INSTITUTIONS ON THE EVE OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By *C. Warren Hollister.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 170. $4.00.)

Professor Hollister has, in this study of the structure of the armed forces in the late Anglo-Saxon state, produced what is certainly one of the most significant contributions to the history of military organization in eleventh-century England since the appearance, some seventy years ago, of Round's classic, "The Introduction of Knight Service into England." It may be predicted with some confidence that *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions* will provoke as much controversy as did the earlier essay; many of the author's hypotheses and conclusions run counter to the convictions, amounting almost to dogma, long held by many scholars in this field.

The thesis Hollister proposes to establish—and it must be admitted that many of his arguments are persuasive—is that the old English state had developed a territorial system for recruiting and maintaining the elite units of its armed forces, a system so sophisticated that it not only had no parallel in medieval Europe but, were the argument to be pursued logically, it also had no equivalent in modern military history until the adoption of the Prussian canton system in 1733. Briefly, the author contends that the English had evolved a "select fyrd" whose members, from participation in successive campaigns, were semiprofessional soldiers; that these soldiers were recruited on a territorial basis, each five hides (or six carucates in those areas where the carucate was the geldable unit) being obligated to provide a soldier and contribute to his maintenance for a sixty-day period. In support of his thesis, Hollister has assembled an impressive amount of evidence which indicates the widespread existence of the five-hide units as the basis for military recruitment. Much of this evidence deals with the assessment of boroughs, but rural districts, such as the bishop of Worcester's triple hundred of Oswaldslow, seem to have had their quotas established on this basis also.

The evidence seems conclusive and removes any doubt that the system of recruiting the combat ready contingents of the "select fyrd" was based upon territorial rather than personal obligations. What must be asked is whether or

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not the author has placed a disproportionate emphasis on the "select fyrd" and its alleged efficiency, much as Round's exalted concept of the role of the feudal host tended to obscure the significance of other elements in the Anglo-Norman armies. I am inclined to think that such is the case. Certainly in its final campaigns the operations of the English armies were not so conspicuously successful as to excite admiration or to stimulate emulation. In stressing the fact that in September and October of 1066 these armies fought three general engagements within the space of a month, the author has failed to place equal emphasis on the results. In two of these battles (Fulford and Hastings) the English were decisively defeated, and the loss at Fulford was incurred against an enemy whose tactical organization was indistinguishable from that of the fyrd. This is not convincing proof of Hollister's contention that the old English army "could hold its own against any army in Christendom."

Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions is an invaluable and stimulating re-evaluation of military organization in pre-Conquest England, and it may be taken for granted that those who disagree with Hollister's interpretations are already ransacking the sources for evidence with which to demolish his conclusions.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro JOHN BEELER

SCHOLARLY PRIVILEGES IN THE MIDDLE AGES: THE RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES, AND IMMUNITIES, OF SCHOLARS AND UNIVERSITIES AT BOLOGNA, PADUA, PARIS, AND OXFORD. By *Pearl Kibre*. [Publication Number 72.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1962. Pp. xvi, 446. $7.50.)

WITH painstaking care and a luxurious wealth of scholarly detail, the author of this monumental work sets forth the history of medieval university privileges, treating first their origins and interpretations, then their characteristic types and development at the universities of Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford, with a long and helpful bibliography of pertinent manuscript and printed materials.

Medieval scholarly privileges, largely the result of contemporary social needs, were buttressed by both canon and civil law and were regarded as compensation to those whose activities were both necessary and beneficial to the public welfare. Extended by popes and monarchs, they included exemption from local taxes, from civic duties, and from military and guard service. Scholars also enjoyed protection while journeying to and from the schools and could be tried only in ecclesiastical courts by judges of their own choice. Such privileges were further amplified by the jurists as well as by local and royal decrees to include freedom from tolls and taxes, the right to sufficient housing at fair rents, and even the protection from disturbing noises and disagreeable odors! In addition, medieval popes gave scholars the right to have their proctor at the papal court, to make their own examination rules for the teaching license, and to regulate the hours, method, and content

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of the lectures. Furthermore, they could be named to vacant benefices, were even preferred to other applicants, and could enjoy the revenues of their benefice while studying at the university.

In the highly localized medieval communities, however, actual implementation of such statutory privileges was a frequent problem as numerous town and gown conflicts prove. In fact such local resistance tended to increase especially at Oxford and Paris, and though Parisian scholars continued to insist on their privileges, history shows a continual restriction of these scholastic favors. The loss at Paris of the privilege of a cessation of lectures (the medieval university's chief weapon) gives evidence of the growing centralization of French monarchical authority, while in both England and Italy, though to a lesser extent, there was a waning of scholarly independence.

By the sixteenth century, then, medieval scholarly privileges, though considerably modified, were still maintained and would not be swept away entirely until the end of the old regime. Even afterward such privileges remained customary in England, and their spirit prevailed on the Continent, as is still evident in the general European respect for the "university professor." Although the medieval phrase "with all the rights, privileges and immunities thereunto appertaining" is still heard at our commencements, it has all but lost its real significance. This splendid volume, however, will long remain a definitive work on its subject.

Saint Louis University LOWRIE J. DALY, S.J.

L'ÉCONOMIE RURALE NAMUROISE AU BAS MOYEN ÂGE. Volume II, LES HOMMES—LA NOBLESSE. By *L. Genicot.* [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, Fourth Series, Number 20.] (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, Bureaux du Recueil; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1960. Pp. xviii, 374. 340 fr. B.)

In 1943 Genicot published an excellent volume on the rural economy of Namur in the late Middle Ages. That volume dealt with the seignorial regime, whereas the present one investigates the Namurois nobility—its origin and composition and its subsequent expansion to include men who came from humbler social and economic backgrounds. This study in depth rather than breadth concentrates upon the county of Namur; seldom does Genicot's research spill into the neighboring principalities of Liége, Brabant, Luxembourg, and Hainaut. Genicot's avowed purpose is "interroger ses sources avec le maximum d'acribie" and to provide "dénombrements entiers." From more than ten years of research in the records of the small county that was medieval Namur, Genicot has assembled all the relevant facts and has produced an account not likely to need retelling; some historians may disagree, however, with his interpretation.

Although the work of Marc Bloch and Georges Duby has considerably loos-

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ened the rigidly classic interpretation of Paul Guilhermoz on the origin of the noble class in the Middle Ages, most historians still accept the general thesis of Guilhermoz that a nobility was produced mainly by the development of mounted military service and the spread of chivalric custom. Genicot does not accept this theory, at least for Namur. By the year 1000, he argues, there were about twenty noble families forming a distinct and coherent social group based on their superior social, economic, and political position, not on any special juridical status. In this period and for some time afterward, to be noble was to be free. "Tous les *nobiles* et seuls les *nobiles* semblent être alors *liberi*." Namurois nobility was, therefore, a social phenomenon. In contrast to the position of Bloch and the recent conclusions of Paul Bonenfant and Georges Despy in their study of the Brabançonne nobility, the nobles of Namur were not the elite of a class of free men of which most were nonnoble. There was a clear distinction between nobility and knighthood; nobility derived from land, not from arms. Such was the first nobility of Namur, which lived above and outside the ordinary medieval social cadre.

By the twelfth century when the noble class had received legal confirmation of its *de facto* position, it was already in the process of change and expansion. Between 1150 and 1200 numerous fortunate *ministeriales* through their military and political services detached themselves from the ranks of unfree *ministeriales* and climbed into the noble class during the thirteenth century. Because many of the *ministeriales* had been knights, there now occurred a fusion of *nobiles* and *milites*. The usual social, economic, and political causes, meanwhile, brought the decline and disappearance of some of the old noble families whose ranks were filled and reinforced throughout the fourteenth century by former *ministeriales* (or their heirs) and by new men of recently acquired economic power. By the first quarter of the fifteenth century the fusion was complete; there was a class, well defined by law, composed of men who varied in origin and in social and economic condition. This nobility, comprising men of opulence as well as of very slender resources, had in its background "noblesse de race, ministérialité, grosse paysannerie, haute bourgeoisie."

It is disappointing that Genicot presents his Namurois evidence in statistical tables too numerous to be digested or useful. One wishes that he had assimilated his evidence and presented the general conclusions he derived from it in a more readable form. Happily, he does compare, when appropriate, the results of his research with those of scholars for other areas of Western Europe, but it remains to be seen whether his ideas will find confirmation outside Namur and, especially, whether other historians will agree that noble is the equivalent of free. It requires a rather peculiar understanding of "free" to envisage medieval society with "noble free" and "ignoble unfree" but no "free" men. Is it possible that the unfree jumped immediately into the world of the noble with no intermediate step? Even in eleventh- and twelfth-century Namur there must have been free men who were neither noble nor ignoble and who remained in this status.

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This book is difficult, but must be read by scholars interested in the origin and development of the European nobility. Here are evidence and ideas that must now be tested in other areas. Here is the first serious challenge to the accepted explanation for the origin of the nobility provided sixty years ago by Guilhermoz.

University of California, Berkeley BRYCE LYON

Modern Europe

DAS ZEITALTER DES ABSOLUTISMUS, 1600–1789. By *Walter Hubatsch*. [Geschichte der Neuzeit.] (Brunswick: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1962. Pp. xii, 254.)

THE editor of this handbook series, "Geschichte der Neuzeit," explains that German scholarship of the last forty-odd years has given but little attention to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are many reasons why German historians since 1914 have found other fields more profitable for their studies. The title of this book, its organization, its presentation, and its bibliography reflect German neglect of these centuries. By calling it *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus* the author underlines the fact that he is more concerned with the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the problems of the French Revolution than he is with the mid-twentieth-century curiosity about the relationship between European and non-European cultures and the basic questions involved in the fact that European civilization has so outdistanced its rivals. By seeing the problems of this period in terms of absolutism and the conflict between people and the king rather than in terms of the rise of centralized authority, the emergence of new military and economic power, and the development of a new conception of man and the world in which he lives, the author gives this book an outmoded frame of reference. The German preoccupation with the concept of the baroque developed by Wölfflin and his followers may also be partly responsible for this myopia; by concentrating attention on the art forms of the courts one can easily miss the inner movements in the society. If the *New Cambridge Modern History* did not also seem to reaffirm the idea that historical periods can be subsumed under concepts of "renaissance," "industrial revolution," and the like, one might also be tempted to be critical of the static presentation of the material. The series "Histoire générale des civilisations" and most of the volumes of the "Rise of Modern Europe" series point to interpretations of the historical processes that seem to be more realistic in the mid-twentieth century.

In spite of this serious criticism, the book will be valued by anyone who understands how to use a handbook. It probably will not completely replace Immich (1905) and Plotzhoff (1928), but the excellent bibliography and the schematized formal presentation of the material will be appreciated. Unlike the presentation

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in *Clio,* there is no discussion of the status of problems, but the fact that Central and Eastern Europe are given perhaps even more attention than Western Europe will make this book popular with many, including the embryo Ph.D.'s who want a quick overview of the material that they may be questioned about. Even a critical reader will be surprised and impressed with the amount of information that Professor Hubatsch has been able to condense in a text of just over two hundred pages; there can be no question of his scholarship or of his dedication to the task that he undertook.

No one preparing a volume with the scope of this one could hope to avoid annoying errors, but it is unusual for them to creep into a genealogical table. Emperors Joseph I and Karl VI were both sons of Eleanor of Neuburg rather than of Margaret Theresa of Spain.

University of Minnesota JOHN B. WOLF

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN EUROPE, 1815–1914. By *W. O. Henderson.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1961. Pp. ix, 288. $6.00.)

MR. Henderson has in the last decade lightened our darkness on many aspects of continental European economic development by his studies of the *Zollverein,* the role of the state in Prussian industrialization, and the migration of British labor, know-how, equipment, and capital to the Continent between 1750 and 1850. The title of his latest work naturally raises the hope that it will be a comprehensive synthesis or reinterpretation of that large subject.

The book is certainly not that at all. In the first place, its scope is not even continental Europe, but only France, Germany, and Russia, each treated separately. The title page gives no warning of this serious territorial shrinkage, though the dust cover does mention it, and while the preface justifies it on the ground that useful books on Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, and Austria-Hungary are available, only two of the five titles cited are dated since 1931, and two are as old as 1914. In the second place, the treatment is not the "survey in broad outline" which the author says he has attempted to make. Apart from a very brief introductory chapter on "The Characteristics of Industrial Growth," in which the three phases of industrialization propounded by W. G. Hoffmann and by W. W. Rostow are described in about a dozen lines per author (and then virtually forgotten), the book is crammed with details of fact and figures, with names of fifty banks and sixty railroads, of cartels, companies, and colonies, of politicians and laws, most of them in short sentences from which any hint of serious analysis and of either general or particular economic theory is absent. Quotations abound, many of them without mention of the writer, and, when an author is named, his book is frequently not listed in the padded bibliography (see Hyde on p. 73,

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Crouzet on pp. 84 and 118, De Bourrienne on pp. 82 and 85). Of the nine maps five are reprinted from Henderson's earlier books and are far less useful here than they were there; in fact, the one of "The Ruhr in the middle of the 19th century" is quite useless for elucidating the confused account of what happened in that coal field later in the century. There are no statistical tables, which leaves the text to carry a very heavy burden of figures. In short, a disappointing book, rather expensive as well.

University of British Columbia HERBERT HEATON

LE SAINT-SIÈGE ET LES NATIONALISMES EN EUROPE, 1870–1960. By *Christine Alix*. Preface by *G. Le Bras*. [Histoire et sociologie de l'Église, Volume I.] (Paris: Sirey. 1962. Pp. ix, 367. 22 fr.)

SUBMITTED to the Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences at the University of Paris, this book was awarded a prize as an outstanding doctoral dissertation. It is a highly original study concerned, not with nationalism in general, but with types of nationalism and with investigation into the positions of the Holy See on each of its manifestations.

Miss Alix limits her treatment in area to Europe and in time to the last century. In the opening section she analyzes the fundamental character of the Catholic Church in its relations with the temporal world as a spiritual, sovereign, universal, and "total" society. She then searches for a definition of nationalism and relates the idea of nationalism to the basic principles of the Church.

The next four parts of her carefully organized book are devoted to a typology of nationalism. The second part, the "Nationalism of Liberation," concerns the nation unified by geography, language, and traditions, but nonindependent. Case histories are those of Austria-Hungary, Ireland, and Poland. Part III, the "Nationalism of Defense," treats the affirmation of civil authority in the face of a powerful rival (that of the Church). Here the author considers the Holy See's attitude toward Italian unification, the *Kulturkampf* (this subject is brilliantly handled), and the republic of Czechoslovakia. Part IV, "Totalitarian Nationalism," describes the position of the Vatican on the *Action Française,* Italian Fascism, and National Socialism. Part V projects the possible existence of a "Catholic Nationalism."

The most valuable portions of this book are those chapters devoted to the attitude of the Holy See toward the types of nationalism. The author reveals in distinguished prose how the Holy See necessarily utilized contradictory principles, on the one hand preaching submission to established power (*subditi estote*) and on the other recognizing the justification of secession (encyclical *Fidei donum*). While it saw the necessity for revolt against aggressive power, it always recom-

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mended moderation. Admitting the need for an indigenous clergy and national seminaries, it always proclaimed the unity of the Church.

The weakest chapters are those devoted to the meaning of nationalism and to the projection of a "Catholic nationalism." The author is unfamiliar with American and British scholarship in the field. She does not use the pioneer studies of Carlton J. H. Hayes, Karl W. Deutsch, and Boyd C. Shafer, nor the works of the British scholar Friedrich Hertz. Of Hans Kohn's many books on nationalism, she consulted only the Italian translation of his classic study, *The Idea of Nationalism*.

Miss Alix' conception of a "Catholic nationalism" is based on the concordat with Spain of 1953 and Catholicism in Ireland. She is so unsure of her ground here that again and again she presents the idea in the form of a question: "Peut-on retrouver, à travers les agissements de l'Église, une conception catholique du nationalisme?" This is primarily a question of semantics. If the word Catholic means "universal" or "all-embracing," it should not be confused with nationalism which reflects the fragmentation of world society.

This study, distinguished by originality of concept, excellent organization, and a graceful style, is a welcome addition to the growing bibliography on nationalism.

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

ALLIANCE AGAINST HITLER: THE ORIGINS OF THE FRANCO–SOVIET PACT. By *William Evans Scott*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 296. $7.50.)

THIS is a well-organized monograph that fills in one aspect on the coming of World War II not hitherto investigated in detail. In eleven chapters it traces the negotiations beginning with those of the spring of 1931 for a commercial agreement and nonaggression pact to the signature in Paris in May 1935 of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. A final chapter offers a summary and sketches the ratification of the treaty.

The negotiations between the French Republic and Soviet Russia are nicely fitted into the broad framework of European international politics. The increasing military power of Weimar Germany brought these powers to drop their quarrels in 1931. The advent of Hitler to power in 1933 was "the spur to Franco-Soviet rapproachement," and the Nazi reintroduction of conscription gave the final impulse for the pact. For France with its key position in the league, its entente with Britain, its need for Mussolini's support in the maintenance of Austrian independence, and its alliances with the members of the Little Entente, the formulation of the terms of the pact presented subtle problems. The "moral collapse" of the Polish alliance actually helped to bring France closer to Russia.

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French, English, and German materials have been used in abundance. Neither France nor Russia offers a collection of diplomatic documents for the period, but the German, British, and United States published collections have been heavily drawn upon, and the files of the Department of State have been consulted at many places. French materials comprise a wealth of parliamentary records, investigations, trials, memoirs, and contemporary comment and opinion whereas there are but few sources on the Russian side. Inevitably the personalities of the leading French actors stand out clearly, and we view the French internal disputes and party differences vividly. The Russian side we see in blurred outline only.

From time to time at the author's invitation we glance back at the alliance of the Third Republic with tsarist Russia, that entente of 1891 which was followed by the military convention of 1893. The French military in the 1930's wanted a pact with Soviet Russia. In case of war it would cut off the flow of raw materials into Germany from the east. They did not press for a military convention. With their defensive strategy they did not feel the need of a Russian offensive, and they did not wish the intimate collaboration that might bring Communist infiltration among the French troops.

Washington, D. C. HOWARD M. SMYTH

THE GENESIS OF THE COMMON MARKET. By *W. O. Henderson.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1962. Pp. xv, 201. $5.50.)

THIS book lacks focus and unity. As compared to W. O. Henderson's other very solid studies, moreover, this volume has a misleading title. Only the last chapter deals with the Common Market, and this thirty-page survey is narrative rather than analytic. Unintentionally the author and the publisher have conspired to deny a glorious title to the scholar who at a later date will study the historical origins, the multiple objectives, and the political compromises that either enabled or compelled the European nations to seek economic cooperation after 1945.

Even though the rest of this book is not tied together by a central theme, each chapter raises or suggests important questions for the student of European economic and political unification. The chapters dealing with the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786, the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty of 1860, and the *Zollverein* are most directly relevant. In all three instances the governments and the political leaders proposing and implementing policies of economic cooperation pursued not only or even primarily economic and fiscal objectives, but also political and diplomatic ones; the support of these policies tended to come from economic classes, status groups, provinces, and cities which stood to benefit from these policies or from the continuing modernization of society; opposition was sharpest among those classes, status groups, provinces, and cities which expected to be hurt.

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This conflict between the rising and the threatened or falling class and status elements was particularly paralyzing because of the still-dominant political position of the declining agrarian, artisan, and early manufacturing sectors of the economy. To overcome this stubborn opposition of the vested interests, Bismarck and Napoleon III had to impose their modernizing policies from above. Henderson provides no new information on the mixture of motives and objectives that guided Bismarck and Napoleon; nor does he distinguish between the intended and the unintended consequences of their economic and tariff policies. But, above all, he fails to present a systematic analysis of the continuities and changes in the conditions favoring or obstructing European economic and political unification before and after 1945. Specifically, students of contemporary Europe will have to spell out the extent to which the Common Market is the outgrowth of long-run historical forces; a by-product of the immediate cold war; a consequence of reaching the highest stage of European capitalism; and a design for the "Americanization" of Western and Central European state and society within the broader context of a search for diplomatic independence from both Washington and Moscow.

Princeton University ARNO J. MAYER

THE PATH TO EUROPEAN UNION: FROM THE MARSHALL PLAN TO THE COMMON MARKET. By *Hans A. Schmitt.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 272. $6.00.)

THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMON MARKET: A BACKGROUND STUDY. By *Don D. Humphrey.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. xvi, 176. $4.50.)

THE rapidly growing movement toward European economic and political union has added a new dimension to the study of recent European history. More and more, books are appearing that analyze the growth of European integration and the evolution of the new supranational institutions. Of these books, Professor Schmitt's is an important addition; Professor Humphrey's is more technical, more ephemeral (written essentially with the United States trade bill of 1962 in mind), and more the product of the professional economist. Humphrey's warning: "If we shelter our major industries from the dynamic effects of free trade in western Europe, we may lose our industrial leadership, as Britain has."

On the broader question of European integration, it is easy to find oneself floundering in the sea of alphabetical agencies that have appeared since the war. Schmitt comes to the rescue. Carefully exploring the groundwork, he examines the inchoate ideas of integration found in the wartime European resistance movements, the impetus (although limited, he argues) given by the Marshall Plan

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and the OEEC, the vague, indecisive contribution of the politically oriented Council of Europe, the temporary setback administered by the failure of the European Defense Community, the very real thrust given by the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, and the impressive developments under the Rome treaties of 1957 that have led to the creation, alongside the European Coal and Steel Community, of the European Economic Community (the Common Market) and Euratom. Even if Paul-Henri Spaak's observation, "March 25, 1957, is from a European point of view as important a date as July 14, 1789," is exaggerated, the 1950's were a remarkable decade in the history of European integration, marking a peaceful revolution that has reshaped Western Europe and reduced nationalist intensities in a hitherto undreamed of way. What Briand, Herriot, and Coudenhove-Kalergi failed to do in the 1920's, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, and Walter Hallstein have done in the 1950's.

Schmitt has chosen to stress the origins, nature, and functioning of the European Coal and Steel Community as the focus of his book. To Monnet, who astutely saw that limited economic cooperation might more readily succeed than more elaborate high-minded political schemes, and to Schuman, he gives full credit for skillfully launching the bold plan. Recognizing that it is too early to write the history of ECSC, he has contented himself with presenting "a progress report on the first experimental phase." It is a report based on a careful study of the materials available and on a year of study and observation in Luxembourg itself. He is quite sober in appraising the actual impact of the agency in raising coal and steel production and in leading to the hoped for interpenetration of French-German markets. Its major contribution has been as a pilot project, as the "sputnik of integration." ECSC created institutions and modes of international behavior that have come to serve as a model for the Common Market and for Euratom, which both now overshadow it. Schmitt has restored to ECSC its deserved eminence as a pioneer.

Both the historian and the economist try to explain the phenomenon that men born in an age of nationalist hypertension have made such striking progress in relinquishing elements of political sovereignty in these dozen or so years. Both would maintain that concern over survival has played the key part and not the older type of crusading idealistic internationalism. Schmitt writes: "Conditions favored compliance with seemingly idealistic postulates. To some extent at least national and supranational interests had become identical." The story of European integration affords proof that reforms and idealistic plans come to fruition in devious ways. Every historian knows that he should also, of course, temper his optimism with caution even if the progress toward unity has been remarkable and the challenge to students of the older nationalism, a somewhat startling one.

Duke University JOEL COLTON

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OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE IN TRANSITION, 1558–1642: AN ESSAY ON CHANGING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES AND ENGLISH SOCIETY. By *Mark H. Curtis.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 314. $6.75.)

THIS book, the result of what must have been an excellent dissertation, was published in England in 1959 and awarded the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize here in 1961. The author presents a more favorable, not to say optimistic, evaluation of the standards and practices of Oxford and Cambridge, 1558–1642, than that ordinarily derived from both contemporary observers and modern scholars. During these years, young aristocrats, as well as candidates for the clerical profession, began to attend the universities in greater numbers. Humanism had changed current concepts of the importance of education in society. The academic community modified the curriculum and the system of instruction. Tudor and Stuart monarchs interested themselves in the colleges. Archbishop Laud tried there, as elsewhere, to enforce uniformity. Increasingly, members of Parliament and government servants had had a year or so both at the university and inns of court. The role of Oxford and Cambridge in the national life became much more important.

Curtis finds the response to the stimulus of new ideas and new students less conservative than generally supposed. Evidence must be sought in the extension of extracurricular study, in "directions" to students that reveal a fairly wide range of interest, in the importance of the tutor. The old halls gradually vanished, and the colleges took over the guidance of academic work. Formal requirements for graduation changed slowly, but a more varied intellectual fare was available to the inquiring student. The works of Galileo and Descartes were known to some contemporary English collegians. The advancement of learning was not entirely neglected. Both royal and private generosity added to the resources and offerings of the universities.

Some rash generalizations are thus corrected by Curtis' revisionist account. He has used interesting and little-worked material and has presented as fair an account of Oxford and Cambridge during the English High Renaissance as we are likely to get. He does not compare English and continental European education; nor does he make any attempt to compare the relative part played in this age by the admittedly important extracurricular activity with that of either the Age of Erasmus or of Isaac Newton. He evades any explanation of the anomaly of the persistence of predominantly clerically dominated universities in a period of growing secularization. Society, he says, received what it demanded: an education adequate to the demands of most students. This scarcely inspiring concept of what the public wanted has some significance, but surely the failure of the colleges to take any important steps to reach those new horizons of learning to which

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men like Bacon and Milton had pointed should still stir our curiosity and influence our judgments more than Curtis would seem to allow.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

FRANCIS BACON: HIS CAREER AND HIS THOUGHT. By *Fulton H. Anderson*. [The Arensberg Lectures, Second Series.] (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press; distrib. by University Publishers, New York. 1962. Pp. 367. $7.50.)

IN a previous work Professor Fulton Anderson described *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (1948). Now in a new book, based on lectures delivered at the University of Southern California in 1957, Anderson describes Bacon's thought as a whole and relates it to his career. The result is the best single volume on Bacon to date, a first-class preliminary guide to what Bacon thought and did.

Anderson represents Bacon as a "reformer" and "an original and originating philosopher" who was not understood by his contemporaries. A "Bacon-faced generation" there was to be, but not during Bacon's lifetime. And small wonder, for his projected reforms included, in addition to a digest of the common laws and statutes, a plan for reshaping the educational system and, indeed, the whole conception and structure of knowledge. Philosophically, Bacon was a pluralist and materialist which hardly endeared him to the Establishment, lay or clerical. Though, of course, a reverent Christian who in fact put revelation above human understanding and criticism, he separated the science of nature from theology in the manner of other contemporary "novelists" (whose works he knew and admired) such as Cardan, Telesio, and Giordano Bruno. What is more, he conceived of the material universe (the proper subject of science) as not divine in nature but only in origin. Like Democritus whose philosophy he thought "worthy to be rescued," he postulated a "nature" devoid of mind, reason, or final causes—in a word, of divinity, consisting only of "matter" which generated its own motion. Anderson reminds us, however, that it was not Bacon's materialistic metaphysics but his novel method of inquiry—the celebrated inductive method—that inspired his followers of the next generation, the experimenters and Puritans.

It is possible here only to mention some of the other noteworthy facets of this book: the fine discussions, running through several chapters, of Bacon's political philosophy; the evolution of his views on religion and religious toleration as he rose to political power; and his extraordinary inventiveness, even for an Elizabethan, as a phrasemaker. Interestingly, Bacon's metaphors and analogies are shown to have been drawn from the old as well as the new learning. For example, the Aristotelian cosmology, which he outgrew, nevertheless continued to supply him with his major metaphors for the royal prerogative and government in gen-

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eral. In other chapters, inevitably more controversial, Anderson seeks to vindicate Bacon's moral reputation, his "virtue" as well as his "immensity."

Oddly, in Anderson's chronological review of Bacon's works there is no analysis of the *Essays*. I also regret the decision not to include citations and footnotes.

Yale University FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

YESTERDAY'S RULERS: THE MAKING OF THE BRITISH COLONIAL SERVICE. By *Robert Heussler*. Foreword by *Sir John Macpherson*. Introduction by *Margery Perham*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1963. Pp. xxvi, 260. $5.75.)

THE lively mind, extensive experience, and intensive research that went into the making of this important book impress me as they did the eminent British authorities who pay it the double honor of both a foreword and an introduction.

The first of the eight short chapters describes the organization of the British colonial Empire and the Colonial Service before 1914. The rest are devoted to the quarter century from 1920 to 1945. The central theme of the book is the recruitment, character, training, and functioning of the administrative cadre of the Colonial Service up to the era of independence. The sixth and seventh chapters give an interesting account of the thinking and planning among British colonial experts for that still dimly foreseen era. That the winds of change were blowing was seen clearly enough, but not their hurricane force. The author is not a historian by training, and his occasional hints of a lack of foresight hardly make enough allowance for the part played in human history by the unforeseeable. No rational calculation could have foreseen the combination of elements and circumstances by which a vast explosion of human forces (comparable to the equally unforeseen atomic revolution) would compress colonial independence into less than a single decade. The cycle of constitutional change that had taken several generations in the great colonies of settlement was compressed by a process of "instant" self-government into as many months or years.

The author has read extensively in the unpublished administrative files; he has ransacked surviving memories and personal experiences; and he has visited personally all the important territories. The story of the transformation of the service, largely by the efforts of one man, R. D. Furse, into what Professor Heussler refers to as an "elitist" corps, has not been told before and is of considerable interest. "Recruitment for the Colonial Service was intuitive and elitist." Its numbers were recruited mainly from the great "public schools" (which are given a chapter) and from Oxford (also the subject of a chapter) and Cambridge. On the whole, Heussler seems to have been impressed by the results of the system as he saw them in the field, but he is preoccupied about its social basis. He refers in a number of passages to "the class criterion for participation in administration," the roles of the

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"ruling class" and "ruling families," and the importance assigned to "the traditional cult of the gentleman." The surprised comments on such passages by experienced English readers of the manuscript made the author aware of "certain fundamental misunderstandings" which he ascribes to differences in British and American culture and historical experience. Yet, as he notes, the system of recruitment and the quality of the "elite" it selected were judged by successive Conservative, Liberal, and Labour governments to be as good as the country could devise at that time and well fitted to meet the contemporary needs of the dependencies. The district officers, the author finds, lived by the code of paternalism and of service to the community. Their chief legacy was the demonstration in action of impartial and dedicated public service. Because their conscious bias was in favor of sustaining and preserving the indigenous civilizations, they left the road open to the "dynamic native progressives" who could take over in their own way, bit by bit, the tasks of government.

Bethesda, Maryland H. Duncan Hall

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN. By *Alan Valentine*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 534. $10.10.)

This volume is the first full biography of one of the traditional villains of the American Revolution, Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1775 to 1782. Although it traces Germain through his early political and military career and the long period of humiliation that followed his court-martial for his conduct at Minden in 1759, it focuses largely upon his tenure as American Secretary. Far from absolving Germain of any of the charges heaped upon him by contemporaries and historians alike, it presents him in the same villainous garb, arguing, as the dust jacket states succinctly, that he was "the man primarily responsible for Britain's defeat in the American revolution." Scion of an important family and well endowed with charm, confidence, common sense, and a capacity for hard work, Germain had all the necessary ingredients for success. But an unfortunate cluster of traits—an overwhelming ego, a lack of commitment to any principle except his own advancement, and a misuse of "his talents and energy chiefly to gratify his pride, his ambition, and his resentment"—tended at important points in his career, the author argues, to turn what might have been profitable enterprises into disasters. Thus as an aggressive Colonial Secretary he managed to seize the initiative in directing the war, but, because of his constant quarreling with his generals, his insistence upon determining strategy and directing operations, and, particularly in the Saratoga fiasco, his inexcusable carelessness and disingenuousness, the war in his hands "moved from the decent and possible to the indefensible and hopeless." His refusal to give any quarter to the colonies made him a symbol of George III's determination not to grant the colonies inde-

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pendence; thus, he was able to stay in office long after he had become a liability to the ministry until he could extract a peerage for himself as the price for his retirement.

Despite the author's assurances that it was not his "prejudices" but Germain's "features" that account for this harsh portrait, his confessed distaste for his subject seems to have produced some important distortions. For instance, the author's conviction that pride, ambition, and lack of principle were central in Germain's character and actions prevents him from entertaining the possibility that Germain's inflexible opposition to the Americans may have been based upon principle—a possibility that might, if adequately explored, have illuminated the psychology of British officialdom during the Revolution and have put Germain's lack of enthusiasm for conciliation in a somewhat different perspective. Other distortions arise from the author's tendency to exaggerate Germain's role and with it his responsibility and culpability. That he greatly expanded the jurisdiction of his office at the expense of other departments, that he, not George III or Lord North, assumed the dominant role in formulating military strategy, and that he allowed his generals little latitude in directing military operations are important conclusions that fundamentally alter older interpretations and add a new dimension to our understanding of the British side of the war. They do not, however, seem to lessen the importance of George III and Lord North or Sir William Howe and General John Burgoyne sufficiently to justify the author's loading Germain with quite such a heavy burden for British defeat.

These reservations aside, this is a useful and important book, adequately researched, thoughtful, and well written. It is always regrettable, though, when the passion for judgment gets in the way of the historian's quest for understanding.

Western Reserve University JACK P. GREENE

JEREMY BENTHAM: AN ODYSSEY OF IDEAS. By *M. P. Mack*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 482. $7.50.)

SOMEBODY—Lord Morley I think it was—suggested that Voltaire, in the far-ranging influence he exerted, is comparable to a great movement in history, and whatever the propriety of this suggestion in appraising Voltaire's work, it might seem no less appropriate in the case of Bentham's. Few, at any rate, of those who are likely to make use of Dr. Mack's impressive book would dismiss her remark that Bentham's influence on British legal and political development has been "enormous" as a hyperbolic flourish.

She shows, in much detail and with abundant quotation from the indisputably enormous bulk of his writings, how far his mind wandered, though *raced* might be a semantically preferable verbal symbol, beyond the confines of English law

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and government. He was not content, she tells us, "to codify all law and so to create a logic of the will." In the later decades of his long life (1748–1832) "he developed an even more grandiose ambition—a comprehensive analysis of all the operations of the human mind, of the understanding as well as the will." But of this vast project she has found it impossible to give "a complete straightforward account . . . for Bentham never wrote one." She speaks of it, however, as his most important work, though it has remained virtually unknown. In her preface she leads us to expect that in tracing the evolution of his thought this volume will end with the year 1792, to be followed in time by a second volume. Very frequently, however, she has found it expedient in this one to refer to and quote from much of what he wrote after 1792.

In addition to studying Bentham's separately published works, which form, it is well known, only a small part of his extant writings—and we read here of manuscripts that went off the extant list in occasional burnings—Mrs. Mack has labored with tireless zeal in what might be called Bentham source quarries, notably the Bentham manuscripts preserved at University College, London; those included in that vast collection in the library of the British Museum known to countless historical researchers as "Additional Manuscripts"; and the multivolume *Works of Jeremy Bentham,* badly edited by Bentham's literary executor, John Bowring. In her opinion Bowring made Bentham inaccessible. Nevertheless this so-called "collected edition" contains materials of unquestionable value for the serious student of Bentham, and she has made extensive use of it. Nor has she neglected what others have had to say about him. She concludes, for example, that John Stuart Mill was responsible for some erroneous opinions, among them that Bentham had little respect for other minds. She shows beyond a peradventure that he had, and expressed, much respect for many minds. She has a good word to say of Leslie Stephen's volume on Bentham, published a couple of generations ago, as still being "the most readable overall study" of his thought, which "properly emphasizes historical background." A striking, and admirable, feature of her work is the extent to which she has been able to draw upon a remarkably wide range of reading in books and articles not obviously related to Bentham.

This cannot have been an easy book to write; it is not an easy one to read. It cannot profitably be skimmed, for it is emphatically a book to be "chewed and digested," to quote from an aphorism we owe to Francis Bacon, that "resplendent genius," as Bentham called him. And sometimes the meat is tough. It would have been pleasant to be able to record that readers of a difficult but important work have been given all possible aids to easier digestion. But Mrs. Mack's book contains, as is right and proper, a great many reference notes, and a very large majority of them are tailnotes rather than footnotes, consigned to the ends of the several chapters, where they may be found *with a maximum of inconvenience.*

Rochester, New York ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

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THE LATER CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE III, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II. Volume I, DECEMBER 1783 TO JANUARY 1793. Edited by *A. Aspinall.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xlvi, 688. $19.50.)

THIS first volume of *The Later Correspondence of George III* resumes where the sixth volume of the *Correspondence of George III* ends, but the new series is in no sense a continuation of the earlier one. Students in this field are of course familiar with the six volumes covering the years from 1760 to 1783 that Sir John Fortescue edited and that Macmillan published in 1927 and 1928. As Professor Aspinall states: "The sledge-hammer blows delivered by Sir Lewis Namier, together with less formidable criticism from other reviewers, destroyed Fortescue's reputation as an editor." Although Fortescue had typescripts ready for the years 1783 to 1810, this criticism apparently discouraged both editor and publisher, and no additional volumes were put on the market. These typescripts, with all their errors and shortcomings, have been available to scholars at the Clements Library in Ann Arbor since 1929.

Aspinall rightly calls attention to three fundamental differences between his first volume and the six edited by Fortescue: it has an introduction and is fully annotated; it includes the private papers of the King and other members of the royal family; and it contains many letters of George III from private collections and public archives that were not in the George III calendar. The editor does concede the one point that the two editions have in common: they are both selections from the papers of George III. He feels, though, that he has omitted little of real significance in his volume. Any scholar who questions this can of course secure access to the entire collection.

The introduction is well done and can be read with profit by those who have only a casual interest in the ten years from 1783 to 1793 and who do not care to read the entire volume. The first part of this introduction is devoted to the private life of George III and his relations with his children; the second part is a brief sketch of the political and constitutional history of these years. It incorporates the research of the last generation without resorting to academic warfare.

It is, however, the quantity and quality of the footnotes that show the enormous amount of effective work done by the editor. Not only is a brief biographical sketch given of nearly every person mentioned, but many cross references to additional material will lighten the work of future researchers on this period. Obviously so fine an editorial achievement of this magnitude was made possible by the work of Aspinall on the gigantic "History of Parliament" project. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the next four volumes will continue the standard set in this introduction and annotation and that publication will not be delayed too long.

The references at the end of the book contain information on cabinet members, other officeholders, and genealogical tables. In conclusion, I feel that errors have

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been reduced to a minimum even though one of the minor ones is that I am referred to in the preface as G. D. Barnes.

Western Reserve University DONALD GROVE BARNES

THE IRISH BORDER AS A CULTURAL DIVIDE: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF REGIONALISM IN THE BRITISH ISLES. By *M. W. Heslinga.* Foreword by *E. Estyn Evans.* [Sociaal Geografische Studies, Number 6.] (New York: Humanities Press. 1962. Pp. 225. $5.00.)

IN his book on the Irish border, M. W. Heslinga, a Dutch geographer, attacks the position that partition is wrong because Ireland is one nation in its history, geography, culture, and economy. He argues that borders are political, cultural, and religious demarcations which seldom correspond to natural boundaries. His main thesis is that the boundary separating Northern Ireland from the Irish Republic is a religious frontier dating back to the seventeenth century when Scotch Presbyterians were planted in northeast Ulster. Religious and cultural differences between Catholics and Presbyterians were intensified by political and economic developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the time of the Home Rule crises in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it had become obvious that Ireland was two nations.

As an addition to his main thesis, Heslinga claims that the Irish border is an extension of the frontier separating England from Scotland. Northern Ireland, in religious commitment, historical background, economic interests and development, and cultural values, is an extension of neighboring Scotland. Because of the many centuries of historical association and geographic proximity, the Irish Republic, except for its Catholicism, bears a striking resemblance to southern Britain. Its citizens speak English and frustrate government efforts to revive Gaelic as a living language, share English values, and enjoy legal, political, and educational institutions established on English models. The agrarian economy of the Republic is dependent on British markets and British industrial supplies. Heslinga suggests that since the Irish and English are so much alike there is little justification for an independent Irish Republic.

Heslinga's repetitive and pedantic writing style does an injustice to his interesting and controversial material. But he has read his sources and presents a reasonable though slightly pro-Unionist defense of sound and sometimes original conclusions. While his case is reasonable and persuasive, at times it is superficial. He quickly passes over the fact that the Irish border is not a clear religious frontier. The most southern county, Fermanagh, and the most western county, Tyrone, in Northern Ireland have Catholic majorities. He certainly exaggerates the spontaneity of Ulster Presbyterian nationalism by neglecting to emphasize in the historical sections of his book how this nationalism was encouraged by Ulster

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businessmen anxious to frustrate a nonsectarian labor movement and by British Tory politicians in their efforts to defy the Constitution and to destroy Liberal governments. Any shrewd observer of the Irish scene will agree with Heslinga that Ireland is economically dependent on Britain, that it shares similar institutions and customs, and that a large portion of Irish intellectual opinion has been Anglicized, but he will also discover that English institutions in Ireland have a distinct Irish tone and that among the population as a whole there is a unique Irish viewpoint on almost every subject. Finally, Heslinga neglects to discuss the present and future relevance of partition in view of a serious economic decline in Northern Ireland and the necessary economic and cultural interdependence of the Atlantic community.

Perhaps this book may improve the perspective of Irish nationalists dominated by the myths Heslinga attacks. But nationalists are nourished on myths and are usually reluctant to reject their sustenance.

University of Illinois LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY

LA VIE INTELLECTUELLE EN FRANCE DU XVI^e^ SIÈCLE À L'ÉPOQUE CONTEMPORAINE. By *Pierre Barrière*. [L'évolution de l'humanité: Bibliothèque de synthèse historique, Number 96.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1961. Pp. xxi, 635. 27 fr.)

IT is assuredly an audacious enterprise that the eminent literary historian, Pierre Barrière, professor at the University of Bordeaux, has undertaken in his examination of the many facets of French intellectual life from the sixteenth century to the present. He does not see that life of the spirit exclusively, or even principally, embodied in speculative philosophy and literature. It manifests itself in many expressions of an ever-evolving national vitality: in political forms and practices, in social organization and economic behavior, in science, philosophy, and the arts, all integrally related.

The author's controlling assumptions, hence his conclusions, may briefly be recapitulated as follows. Socially, French intellectual life has been and remains bourgeois in its spokesmen and preoccupations. Yet, essentially humanistic in the broadest sense, it is collective and national. Transcending the expression of individuals, accommodating the new to the old, it has sought to make science and philosophy instruments of observation and reflection so as to provide the fullest measure of certainty to the collective answer that thought has supplied to the problems of complex man in constantly changing milieux and conditions of communal living.

The schematic procedure that Barrière follows is identical for each of the four centuries that he discusses (the contemporary era being regarded as an extension of the nineteenth century). He first takes up the general conditions under which

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changes operated and expressed themselves. Then he discusses the nature of the intellectual and material sources in which the new had its inception. Lastly, and in greater detail, he examines the movements and the changes themselves, how they were significantly new, how linked to older forms and values, and how related to each other.

For the specialist the great worth of this study obviously does not lie in the data themselves, though Barrière's use of recent monographic literature is extremely helpful. For that specialized reader his bibliography is of no particular aid, least of all for the later periods. The treatment of the nineteenth century, moreover, is suggestive but not less skimpy than stimulating. If the evaluation of the eighteenth century is meaningful and stimulating for the freshness with which it re-examines the best-known period of French intellectual development, the author is at his richest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his own field of professional interest and competence. "The Century of Louis XIV" is still crying for its great historian; Barrière supplies admirable suggestions for a realistic understanding of its contradictory and compelling vitality.

It is not likely that all readers will be convinced by all the inner relations he establishes between seemingly disparate modes of expression. Not likely, either, that they will follow him in a kind of pro-Gallic Hegelian tautology that makes it seem as though an invisible hand were guiding French intellectual life to its predestined end as a total expression of French culture. Nevertheless, the merits of this occasionally prolix and repetitious but always absorbing work are many. The author's knowledge of detail is astounding; his treatment of the play of forces and individuals, symphonic; and there is high luminosity, refined shading, and deep insight in his reflections. It is what he claims for it only—a sketch to be filled in; also a working model rich in methodological and substantive inspiration. It is a notable addition to a long list of studies that bear the impress of the synthesizing conceptions of the school of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch.

New York University LEO GERSHOY

BONAPARTE IN EGYPT. By *J. Christopher Herold.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1962. Pp. xii, 424. $6.95.)

EIGHT years ago, in *The Mind of Napoleon,* Mr. Herold allowed Napoleon to reveal himself in his own words. The result was an arresting and authentic mosaic, a compilation that did justice to the complex character of a great man. The eloquent introduction which Herold wrote for that volume of excerpts praised Napoleon as "an artist in power." While admitting that there were disfiguring flaws in the Corsican's character, Herold concluded that "to withhold admiration is petty and antipoetic."

No such disposition to exalt Napoleon's genius distinguishes *Bonaparte in*

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Egypt. On the contrary, Herold sketches the drama of the Egyptian expedition on so large a canvas, and includes so many heroes, that Napoleon's personality and exploits lose their epic quality. Examples of his egotism, insensitivity, mendacity, and coldly calculated bloodletting are emphasized until the reader is disillusioned and repelled. It is possible that the preparation of a lively and successful biography of Madame de Staël, *Mistress of an Age* (1958), extinguished Herold's earlier admiration for Napoleon. Whatever the reason, his severely critical attitude toward the chief figure in the drama makes *Bonaparte in Egypt* an uneven performance. The best scenes are those dealing with secondary figures, Desaix, Kléber, Brueys, Dupetit-Thouars, Denon, and Desgenettes among them.

The folly of a descent upon Egypt by the French when they lacked naval supremacy, and the mirage of a march to India, becomes apparent as the narrative proceeds. Napoleon later pretended that he lost only one-sixth of the fifty thousand men involved in this disastrous venture. In reality half of them perished, through battle, thirst, plague, assassination, or suicide.

Herold frankly acknowledges that he made extensive use of *L'Expédition en Égypte, 1798–1801,* by the Marquis de la Jonquière, whose five volumes appeared between 1899 and 1907. But he has also drawn widely upon the relevant published material of the last century and a half. Some 700 footnote citations and a bibliography of 150 titles increase the value of this brilliantly written study, which also includes 4 maps, 25 illustrations, and a glossary of Arabic and Turkish terms.

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

IN SEARCH OF FRANCE. By *Stanley Hoffmann et al.* [Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 443. $8.95.)

PROMOTION AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY IN POSTWAR FRANCE. By *John Sheahan.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 301. $5.95.)

THERE once was a stable, predictable community called France. Then came the catastrophe of 1940, and everything began to change. Why? How? What next? Each of the six authors of *In Search of France* tries to answer these questions using the model-building apparatus of his particular social science. Only Stanley Hoffmann sees signs of a breakdown in the "republican synthesis" as early as the mid-1930's. The others all accept the Second World War as the traumatic turning point between the old and the new France. There is not a Tocqueville among them.

Taken on their own terms, some of these essays are remarkably convincing, others less so. Laurence Wylie and Jesse R. Pitts skillfully use the techniques of

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cultural anthropology and sociology to explain recent changes in the structure and values of French society. Wylie takes his model from two rural communes that he has studied closely at firsthand. Pitts's model of bourgeois-aristocratic values is more abstract. Yet both authors show how the old values and institutions have been transformed rather than replaced by new ones. Wylie gives us an especially meaningful insight by pointing out the self-perpetuating effect of economic and social changes, once the war set them into motion. In a kind of despair Frenchmen began to live from day to day. They spent more money and had more babies, and their initial despair gave way to an unforeseen hope in change.

The essays dealing with political change are less sanguine. It is indeed easier to be happy about rising standards of living and increased social mobility than about the decline of democracy or of French power in the outside world. Both Hoffmann and François Goguel lament the atrophying of the main "intermediate bodies" between the people and their government: the political parties. For these two authors the question "After De Gaulle, what?" is still an open one, fraught with dangers. Their overawareness of past follies prevents them from accepting the possibility that Frenchmen may be changing their political behavior as well as their social and economic behavior. Jean-Baptiste Duroselle thinks that Frenchmen are certainly accepting their country's reduced colonial and international role with realism.

In his essay on France's recent economic growth, Charles P. Kindleberger subordinates all such possible factors as planning, monetary policy, and capital formation to the emergence, "unexpectedly," of a small army of Schumpeterian entrepreneurs. These "new men" introduced new techniques, and "new attitudes [that is, workers and consumers also began to favor expansion] followed from the change in leading economic personnel." This is a provocative thesis, and it requires an extended demonstration. Instead, Kindleberger simply *tells* us that these "new men" began to appear in the 1940's, and he devotes most of his essay to refuting almost everyone else who has ever said anything about France's former economic retardation or recent growth.

Sheahan's book, though more modest in intent than Kindleberger's essay, reveals much more about France's economic growth in the 1950's. It analyzes in detail the role of governmental and private initiative in a number of key industries. These industrial studies are not only admirable in themselves; they also contain useful lessons for the United States. Like Kindleberger, Sheahan stresses the importance of "supply decisions," rather than the organization of the market, in determining the trend of the French economy. But he gives due recognition to the government Planning Commission's role in promoting expansion by private firms. He points out the danger of orderly coordination drifting into deadening stability, and he makes a plea for continuing choices and flexibility.

New York University EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

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A HISTORY OF SPAIN. By *Jean Descola.* Translated from the French by *Elaine P. Halperin.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1963. Pp. x, 483, xi. $7.50.)

In the preface, Descola, an experienced French Hispanist, explains that he believes the personalities of outstanding Spaniards to be the most useful key to the history of Spain. He also emphasizes the importance of "the chronicler's imagination as well as his knowledge," for Descola has used his imagination abundantly, evidently aiming his book at the cursory reader rather than the serious student. Instead of preparing a general history of the institutions, politics, and socioeconomic development of Spain, he has written what constitutes, in effect, a series of vignettes about outstanding Spaniards from ancient times to the twentieth century, adding generalizations and brief clusters of facts at various places to provide some historical continuity to the narrative. The author's concern is evidently not so much to be precise as to be evocative. In this he often succeeds, though usually at the cost of scholarly rigor.

It is debatable whether such fragmentary treatment really constitutes a "history of Spain." Most of the serious problems of Spanish history are scarcely discussed, social and economic problems being neglected most of all. Two and one-half millennia are abruptly reduced to five "ages": "The Age of Viriathus," "The Age of the Cid," "The Age of El Greco," "The Age of Goya," and "The Age of José Antonio and García Lorca [*sic*]." The enormous complexity of the Spanish Middle Ages has thus largely to be ignored. Catalonia hardly exists, and Portugal is deemed irrelevant. The treatment is mostly descriptive, with only a minimum of analysis. The perceptive reader is bound to be perplexed by the causes for Spain's decline and subsequent decadence, since these are scarcely discussed. They just happened. The seventeenth century, one of the most difficult periods to deal with, receives only five pages, after which the reader is confronted with the Bourbon dynasty.

The same thing occurs with the more recent period. Here the author is not able to frame his account around a few personalities so conveniently, but he gallops over the difficulties of the nineteenth century and later dispatches the Civil War of 1936–1939 in a few trite pages. The most interesting and original part of the book is probably the final chapter, in which he provides a sampling of the reactions of several centuries of French travelers in Spain.

In general, this volume tends in considerable measure to perpetuate the "romantic myth" of Spanish history, despite occasional efforts to achieve a more critical perspective. There are a rather large number of petty factual errors, and the questionable generalizations are legion. Exclamation marks abound, in some sections averaging more than one per page. It must regretfully be asked whether or not in the final reckoning a book of this nature does not do more to confuse than to clarify the history of Spain.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

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ISTORIIA GERMANII OT POZDNEGO SREDNEVEKOV'IA DO REVOLIUTSII 1848 GODA [History of Germany from the Late Middle Ages to the Revolution of 1848]. By *A. D. Epshtein.* (Moscow: Publishing House of the Institute for Foreign Relations. 1961. Pp. 618.)

Based on the author's course in German history at the Institute for Foreign Relations at Moscow, this book represents the latest Marxist interpretation of German history. Utterances about the course of German history by Engels, Lenin, Khrushchev, Mehring, Pieck, and Grotewohl indicate at the outset the scheme and scope of the study which, according to the preface, aims especially at tracing the origins of German imperialism in modern times and at the destruction of falsifying tendencies, singling out, for example, the legend of Frederick "the Great."

The book is divided into ten chapters covering Germany in the late Middle Ages, the Thirty Years' War, the Westphalian peace and Germany's political situation after the war, the economic situation after the war, the history of the Brandenburg-Prussian state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Germany at the end of the eighteenth century, during the Napoleonic Wars, between 1815 and 1830, between 1830 and 1847, and, finally, the Revolution of 1848. Almost a fifth of the book is devoted to the first chapter, which assembles a remarkable array of contemporary information about the economic situation in Germany in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. One senses that the author, who himself has published an article about the economic history of Augsburg at this period (*Srednie veka,* No. 10, 1957), is on firm ground; he also cites a 1953 Moscow dissertation by N. I. Apparovich on the social struggle at Cologne at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and likewise M. M. Smirin's sketches of the history of the political struggle in Germany before the Reformation (1952). Several rather poor sections, such as those on Wallenstein's political plans, Prussia's participation in the partitions of Poland, and the chapter on the Revolution of 1848, are outweighed by certain unusual features in a "textbook" of German history. These include sections dealing with German democrats of the eighteenth century (Schubart, Seume, and Forster), with Georg Büchner as the German revolutionary democrat, with agrarian unrest in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century, and with the impact of the continental blockade of Napoleon's time on German industrialization.

As could be expected, the discussion of social and economic developments, often based on the apodictic judgments of Marxist leaders, but not historical thought, prevails over political and intellectual history. It should be noticed, however, that half the chapter on Germany between 1815 and 1830 deals with German intellectual movements and scholarly achievements, devoting a whole page to Jakob Grimm and the founding of the "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," and that the economic development in the 1830's and 1840's is especially well documented and analyzed.

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The concluding chapter raises certain questions about the methodology of German history and summarizes the discussion in *Voprosy istorii* (1956–58) about Engels' dictum of Reformation and Peasants' War as "the first bourgeois revolution."

Bonn, Germany FRITZ T. EPSTEIN

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN DEUTSCHLAND VON 1789 BIS 1849. Volume I. By *Jürgen Kuczynski.* [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1961. Pp. viii, 428. DM 27.)

ZUR POLITÖKONOMISCHEN IDEOLOGIE IN DEUTSCHLAND VON 1850 BIS ZUM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG UND ANDERE STUDIEN. By *Jürgen Kuczynski.* [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart. Dokumente und Studien B zu Band 3, Volume XIII.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1961. Pp. 215. DM 16.)

THESE two books are part of a series grandiosely projected as a set of forty volumes that the author envisions as the "first scientific history of the condition of labor under capitalism." The first part of the series will consist of seven volumes of narrative history dealing with labor in Germany from the end of the eighteenth century to 1945, one volume dealing with child labor, ten volumes containing source materials complementing the narrative history, and one volume of index. The second part will be a similar treatment in fourteen volumes of the condition of labor in England, France, and the United States, and the third will provide general conclusions and a bibliography.

The author is director of the economic history division of the East German Academy of Sciences. The projected work of which these two volumes are a part represents a lifetime devoted to economic history and the condition of labor. Thirty years ago he published a lengthy historical and statistical study of the "impoverishment of the worker in the United States," and in 1946–1950, after ten years of exile in England, there appeared his fourteen-volume history of labor under capitalism of which this work is presented as an extension and definitive completion.

Volume I gives a general economic and social history of Germany from 1789 to 1849, followed by a primarily statistical analysis of the living conditions of German industrial labor in this period and some fifty pages of statistics in three appendixes. The thesis running through the whole book is that while the period was one of "political stagnation," economically it was a period of rapid capitalist development, during which the lot of the workers, both factory and artisan, was

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steadily deteriorating. The work is not intended as political history, and events such as the Stein-Hardenberg reforms and the Revolution of 1848 hardly figure in it at all and then only as evidence for his narrow Marxist economic theses. He invariably explains complex political events by invoking general Marxist theory, such notions as the necessities of capitalism and the superstructure. Defenses of capitalism are *dummfreche Apologetik,* and he accuses German historians from Ranke to Schnabel and Stadelmann (as well as Sir John Clapham, Bertrand de Jouvenel, and Louis Hacker) of deliberately concealing the truth. Along with this goes a rigid collective thinking in which "der Arbeiter" and "der Bourgeois" act the roles of hero and villain. Much of the text reads more like a political pamphlet than a work of scholarship.

There are objections to even the most impressive part of the work, the statistical tables. A whole series of tables are often loosely ascribed in a general phrase in the text to incompletely identified archival sources or are derived from secondary and often tendentious works. The reliability of figures supplied by the East Berlin *Institut für Konjunkturforschung* may also reasonably be held in suspicion. The tables furthermore do not always support Kuczynski's conclusions, as in the case of the wage tables introduced to support his thesis of increasing misery. When faced with incontrovertible evidence of a rising standard of living, he warns that "the process of impoverishment of the working class takes place in different ways. . . . In the United States and West Germany today . . . it assumes an especially refined form."

In short, the sources of this work are an uncritical mixture of fact and fancy and do not seriously challenge Stadelmann's different conclusions in his *Soziale und Politische Geschichte der Revolution von 1848* (1948) or Hamerow's *Restoration, Reaction and Revolution* (1958). The value of Kuczynski's impressive economic statistics—really the essence of this work—is therefore doubtful.

Volume XIII continues for the period 1850 to 1918 the discussion of economic and social doctrines in Germany begun in Volume X. The first chapter discusses theories of society—Christian Socialism, *Kathedersozialismus,* "bourgeois monopoly ideology," marginal utility, and Socialist revisionism, with slavish reliance on the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and even Stalin. The same naïve limitations characterize the author's treatment of this material as is the case in Volume I. Bernstein and his followers are "agents of the bourgeoisie," and the impoverishment of the swelling German proletariat continues inexorably. Chapter II consists of a collection of documents on the industrial transformation of the Silesian textile industry based on the archives of Breslau and has at least the merit of apparently straight presentation of the original texts. Chapter III is a statistical study of the development of a national market in place of local exchange. Chapter IV explains the ingenious arithmetic by which Kuczynski interprets wage and productivity figures so as to demonstrate the correctness of Marx's impoverishment theory in the case of Germany. Chapter V consists of a discussion of the

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works of Theodor Fontane, Friedrich Spielhagen, and Max Kretzer as prophets of capitalist impoverishment.

The size and luxurious production of the volumes and the elaborate paraphernalia of scholarship in the text cannot conceal the essentially unscholarly character of the work. It is typical of Communist political and historical scholarship published by a Communist state.

Queens College ANDREW G. WHITESIDE

BISMARCK AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY: THE PERIOD OF UNIFICATION, 1815–1871. By *Otto Pflanze*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1963. Pp. 510. $10.00.)

THE catastrophe that overtook Bismarck's *Reich* in 1918, partly as a result of its overconfidence and its provincial myopia, should have led to an earlier, fresh evaluation of Bismarck's work. It represented, to quote Professor Pflanze, a fusion of three foundations, Hollenzollern authoritarianism, Prussian militarism, and German nationalism. Their social, intellectual, and moral basis was much too narrow to support Germany's bid for European hegemony. Owing to them, the German attempt at establishing a European hegemony was the only one that carried to the outside world no message of universal significance and no promise of general benevolence. Therein it reflected the personality of the *Reich*'s founder.

After 1918 most German historians and intellectuals used their unusual abilities to prove how right and good the Bismarckian *Reich* had been and how corrupt Western democracy was. Thus, the Germans were ready to found their new hopes upon an even worse anachronism than the Bismarckian *Reich*. Again they proclaimed this anachronism as the last word in historical development, the true answer to the bewildering problems of modern society.

Only when the catastrophe of 1918 repeated itself in 1945 on a much wider scale did German historians begin to ask, "whether the seeds of the later evil were not already present in the Bismarckian Reich." Today the pendulum seems again to be swinging in the other direction; one finds frequently a sometimes muted but unmistakable nostalgic veneration for Bismarckism. Perhaps the new American inclination toward a *Real-* and *Machtpolitik* and De Gaulle's success are contributing to the enhanced reputation of Bismarckism in Germany.

Under these circumstances Pflanze's book appears at the right moment. In it we have the best analysis by far of Bismarck's personality and policy and of their part in the catastrophe that overtook Germany and, through Germany, Europe. Pflanze, writing in a highly readable and dispassionate style, succeeds in clarifying Bismarck's impact on the German mind, on German society and life. His book explains how German nationalism became so different from those developed by other Germanic peoples, the Scandinavians, the Dutch, and the Swiss.

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Bismarck's career, Pflanze writes, "heightened the already dangerous adulation of power in Germany and accentuated the popular belief that what matters in the employment of power is success. He perpetuated in a far different age the Frederician tradition of the genius-statesman, unlimited in the last analysis by any constitutional restrictions and responsible alone to his own inner conscience for his conduct of public affairs." Through Bismarck's revolution of 1866 German nationalism lost whatever it still carried as its heritage of the Age of Enlightenment with its humanitarian outlook. Prior to the revolution there had existed in Germany, though in a more conservative form, a similar chance for a liberal and constitutional development as was to be found in Scandinavia and other European countries. This chance was lost, owing to Bismarck's genius, or to what Pflanze calls "the almost inhuman skill of the wizard in the Wilhelmstrasse."

Pflanze's present volume ends with Bismarck's triumph in 1871, an event that appeared to German historians of his time, and perhaps does even today, as the culmination of German history. A second volume will continue the story into the "peace" that followed the three wars, and in which Bismarck tried to shape Germany after his image and his understanding of the nature of politics and society. The first volume deals, as is easily understandable, primarily with foreign affairs, but the author makes it clear that Bismarck's conduct of foreign affairs determined Germany's internal political life. Bismarck's triumph widened the cultural cleavage between Germany and the West. Germany's political attitudes and institutions became in and after the 1860's different from those of Western and Northern Europe. Bismarck, as Pflanze rightly points out, did not create the forces that brought modern Germany into being, but by manipulating them he altered them fundamentally in a way that alienated Germany from Europe and was ultimately not conducive to the good of Germany or of Europe.

University of Denver HANS KOHN

YOUNG GERMANY: A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN YOUTH MOVEMENT. By *Walter Z. Laqueur.* Introduction by *R. H. S. Crossman.* (New York: Basic Books Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. xxii, 253. $6.00.)

IT is a real pleasure to come across a study of unusual scholarly and literary merit after having read so many uninspired or unjudicious treatises on German intellectual history of the twentieth century. Walter Z. Laqueur, at present attached to St. Antony's College at Oxford, is a native of Germany; he spent his childhood there and has at least some recollections of the youth movement. He is editor of *Survey,* an English quarterly concerned with cultural trends in the Soviet Union, and has written a number of well-received books on the Middle East and on Russia. At present he is engaged in a study of recent German history, of which

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his latest work is only a by-product. It fills, however, as Richard Crossman, M.P., correctly states in his introduction, "a large and curious gap in our knowledge of Germany." Laqueur has not only studied the widely dispersed printed record of the youth movement; he has also received valuable information from some of its surviving leaders like Walter Hammer, Karl August Wittfogel, and Gustav Wyneken. Weaving all these threads of knowledge together, he has produced a reliable, well-balanced, and readable story of the movement. It has the ring of authenticity for me, and I have at least some familiarity with its development and a few of its important figures.

The German youth movement, emerging around the turn of the century as a very healthy reaction to Victorian stuffiness and arrogant Wilhelmian patriotism, did not attract a big following. Its membership probably never exceeded sixty thousand, but among them were many of the finest minds of the younger generation. To give but one example: the Academic *Freischar* in the old university town of Marburg included in 1912 such rising talents as Rudolf Bultmann, Nicolai Hartmann, Martin Heidegger, and Paul Natorp. The official beginning of the movement was a gathering of five "old boys" and five youth leaders in the *Ratskeller* of Steglitz, a middle-classed suburb of Berlin, on November 4, 1901; they agreed to form an association *Wandervogel* to promote rambling sojourns among high school pupils. Its leader, Karl Fischer, was a man of great ability and determination, but his dictatorial attitudes led to many difficulties and splits in the movement. The *Wandervogel* helped to revive the love of nature, the enthusiasm for folk song, and a simple style of life among young people; in this way it provided new goals for a whole generation. The climax was reached in the historic meeting on the Hohe Meissner in October 1913, where many hundreds of followers committed themselves to the lofty tenets of the movement; they wanted to be German patriots as well as citizens of the world. This noble spirit was washed away by the tribulations of the First World War and its aftermath. In the Weimar Republic the youth movement split up into many groups, some of them upholding pacifism and socialism, while others tended toward ardent nationalism and racial anti-Semitism. The Third *Reich,* nevertheless, was suspicious of any segment of the youth movement; its organization was dissolved within a few months after Hitler came to power. Some of its members joined the Hitler Youth, while others eventually supported resistance efforts; among these were some participants in the abortive plot of July 1944, men like Adolf Reichwein, Hermann Maass, and adherents of the *Kreisauer Kreis*. In the postwar period several organizations of the youth movement were revived, representing all shades of opinion from unenlightened nationalism to radical socialism, but Laqueur notes their lack of invention and originality.

Trenton State College FELIX E. HIRSCH

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DIE ARBEITERRÄTE IN DER DEUTSCHEN INNENPOLITIK, 1918–1919. By *Eberhard Kolb.* [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 23.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1962. Pp. 432.)

KOLB's book on "the workers' councils in German domestic politics" is, in my opinion, the most important book on the German revolution of 1918 to appear since A. Rosenberg's *History of the Weimar Republic* (1935). The author rightly concentrates upon the exploration of what is not known rather than the recapitulation of what is, even though this makes his book a series of monographs for the specialist rather than a consecutive narrative for the layman. The interested reader will find here much new information clearly presented. Part I analyzes the role of the *Arbeiterräte* chronologically during the revolution, with special attention to the following points: the political outlook of the various Leftist parties in the autumn of 1918; the role of the naval mutinies in triggering the revolution; the *ad hoc* creation of the *Räte* in early November; the struggle between the Ebert government and the Berlin *Vollzugsrat;* the first *Rätekongress* and the resignation of the Independents from the government; the Spartacist rising of January 1918 and its role in polarizing German politics; the political role played by the *Zentralrat* from December 1918 to February 1919; and the incredibly hostile policy of the Prussian government toward the *Arbeiterräte.* Part II, "Zur Phänomenologie der deutschen Arbeiterräte," analyzes topically both the extremist policy of the few radical *Arbeiterräte* (most notably the Bremen and Munich *Räterepubliken*) and the constructive role that the predominantly moderate *Arbeiterräte* attempted to play in the urgent task of breaking the power of military and bureaucratic reactionaries. It will be seen that Kolb's discussion ranges widely over the German situation of 1918–1919 and always places the problem of the *Räte* in the general configuration of German politics. The author possesses a sovereign command of the endless literature dealing with the period and has also examined important archival material (most notably protocols of the *Zentralrat* deposited in the Amsterdam Institute of Social History).

Kolb has written, however, not only a learned and thorough book, but one characterized by a distinctive thesis which, while not completely "original," has never previously been so persuasively argued. Kolb believes that the German situation was sufficiently plastic in the winter of 1918–1919 to allow a *via media* between the radical revolution desired by the Spartacists, and the crushing of radicalism by Ebert's alliance with Groener; that the Right Wing of the Socialist Independents intelligently advocated this "third policy" which alone offered any chance of building a viable democracy through simultaneously checking Spartacism (preferably through negotiations, not force) and purging reactionary elements; and that this policy of a *via media* failed at least partly for "accidental" rather than "necessary" reasons. Kolb analyzes at length (but to me inconclusively)

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the "accidental events" that drove an irreconcilable wedge between the "governmental" wing of the Independents (whose program, Kolb believes, was really supported by much of the rank and file of the SPD) and the SPD leadership (which Kolb believes could have pursued a more Leftist course under rank-and-file pressure). The obvious weakness of the argument lies in the last point: the view that the SPD leadership might have acted other than it did, especially since Kolb admits that it had "subjectively" plausible reasons for its "Rightist" policy. The conduct of Ebert and his friends provides Kolb, however, with grounds for sharp criticism of not only what the SPD leadership did, but what it was: a group of unimaginative men who exaggerated the Spartacist danger and were completely blind to the incorrigibly antidemocratic character of the Right-wing forces whose alliance they sought in their struggle with the Spartacist Left. They spurned the help offered by the moderate *Arbeiterräte* in the task of cleaning out reactionary forces and were therefore responsible for building a Weimar Germany where antidemocratic groups continued to flourish behind a democratic façade. It seems to me that Kolb is too optimistic about the chances of a *via media* and the constructive role he envisages for the *Räte*. Kolb is convincing in criticizing the very considerable faults of the SPD leadership, but a fair over-all verdict should also include Ebert's impressive achievement of successfully piloting Germany through the anarchical winter of 1918–1919 into an orderly pattern of government.

Brown University KLAUS EPSTEIN

WAR AND SOCIETY IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE: THE *DE MILITIA* OF LEONARDO BRUNI. By *C. C. Bayley*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 440. $8.00.)

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE IN ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. By *Denys Hay*. [The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1960] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 217. $5.50.)

MR. Bayley's study on a particular humanist treatise is more than twice as long as Mr. Hay's general book on the Italian Renaissance. This is not inappropriate in the present state of studies on the Italian Renaissance. The discussion of general questions—whether the Renaissance existed, when it began, and when it ended—has become rather sterile; it seems difficult to say something new. Historians have become aware that interest in general problems has led to a neglect of the rich documentary and manuscript material preserved in Italian archives and libraries and that, from the viewpoint of the historian, an exploitation of these materials is a presupposition for a fresh approach to the general problems of the Renaissance. The result has been that, as Hay rightly observes, "in the last thirty or so years there has been a very large number of specialist studies of aspects of the Renaissance in Italy," but there have been few general treatments.

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Bayley's book is such a specialist study. His original aim was to provide a critical text of Bruni's treatise *De Militia* of 1422; as far as I can judge he has solved this task in an exemplary manner. But Bayley realized that Bruni's treatise "did not stand in isolation." Thus he discusses the views of the humanists on war and military affairs from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and he investigates the connection between the humanist military literature and the actual conduct of war in the Renaissance. Bayley's analysis of the military ideas in the second part of the fifteenth century directs attention to the fact that the particular suitability of the rural population for conscription had been widely discussed before Machiavelli advanced this idea in his suggestions for the foundation of a Florentine militia. Bayley gives a full and clear account of Machiavelli's military plans and activities. The most interesting part of his book is his description of the origin of the *condottiere* system in the fourteenth century. He explains the social and financial conditions that promoted the rise of the *condottieri,* and he describes the impact that the system had on the financial and economic developments in the Italian city-states. He illuminates the conflicts within the Florentine ruling group and the rise of the Medici at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the tergiversations of Florentine domestic policy, the relationship of the leading politicians to the various *condottieri* and the extent to which Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Cosimo de' Medici could rely on the support of mercenary military forces were of decisive importance. In exploring all the factors of Italian intellectual, political, and social history connected with Bruni's treatise, Bayley has made a most valuable contribution to our understanding of the history of the Italian Renaissance. This is an excellent book.

Because scholars have become fascinated by research on individual situations and facts, historical studies in the field of the Italian Renaissance are perhaps in danger of losing a sense of direction. This is the justification for the task that Hay has undertaken and that he describes as reviewing "the whole subject." The characteristic features of the book are formed by the author's attempt to place the Italian Renaissance in the stream of general historical developments and, in his presentation of the events of the Italian Renaissance, by his emphasis on those issues which recent scholarship has illuminated. First Hay deals with "the Renaissance as a period of European history." He has no doubts that the Renaissance must be regarded as a distinctive historical period, but he states forcefully that this does not imply that we still have to cling to Burckhardt's view of the Renaissance as the beginning of the modern world; this the Renaissance was not. Hay discusses the problem of the extent to which the developments of the Renaissance were particularly Italian. And he is necessarily led to raise a question that is of crucial importance for Italian historians and that they have debated with great intensity: Was Italy a unit in the centuries between the end of the Roman Empire and the foundation of the Italian national state? Is the historian entitled to speak of an Italian history in these centuries? Since, in the United States,

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Italian historical studies are, perhaps, no longer a neglected field, but still a somewhat underdeveloped area, Hay's survey of the attitude of Italian historical writers on this problem is most welcome. The seventh and final chapter of Hay's book is devoted to the "Reception of the Renaissance in the North." The space given to an account of the Italian Renaissance proper is limited. Hay concentrates on the forms of political organization and political life and on the political and historical ideas of the humanists; his main concern is the relation between the political ideas of the humanists and political events. He extends the question that Hans Baron has investigated for Florence in the early *quattrocento* to the developments of the entire fifteenth century. While his discussion of this issue is stimulating, I feel sure that he would be the first to admit that this approach does not do full justice either to the many-sided activities of the humanists or to the complexity of Renaissance politics. If the reader keeps in mind that the full title of Hay's book is not "The Italian Renaissance" but *The Italian Renaissance in Its Historical Background,* he will not expect to find more than the book contains. As an introduction to problems of the history of the Italian Renaissance, the book will be read with profit, and because of its pleasant form of presentation, with enjoyment.

Institute for Advanced Study FELIX GILBERT

THE SLAVS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By *Francis Dvornik.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1962. Pp. xxviii, 688. $15.00.)

FATHER Dvornik's book is a sequel to his earlier study *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization,* published in 1956. The 1956 book carried the study of Slavic history and civilization to the thirteenth century, while the present book continues it to the end of the seventeenth century and, for imperial Russia, even beyond it, as far as 1917. The two books are characterized by a common approach, that of the historical and cultural unity of the Slav nations, all of them and at all times. This approach is, however, widened in the 1962 book to embrace the history of Eastern Europe generally, Slavic and non-Slavic Eastern Europe alike, based on the history of Slavic nations treated as an organic unity.

The author based his inquiry on an immense firsthand documentation, adducing a wealth of original sources and scholarly monographs in many languages. The information thus assembled is most impressive, and it is accompanied by a critical apparatus of first-rate importance. One of the most valuable features of the book is the extensive bibliography, chapter by chapter, which lists first the source material and then the available literature, both of them up-to-date. The treatment covers the international relations, the political development, and the cultural and institutional history of all Slavic nations, within the broader context

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of their neighbors' history. Especially rich and informative are the chapters dealing with the cultural and religious history of the Slavic peoples. One must acknowledge without any fear of exaggeration that it is a major performance and that Dvornik's book puts at the disposal of the scholarly community a fundamental treatise on Slavic history which will serve as a point of departure to many a writer.

In spite of this achievement, there are shortcomings in Dvornik's remarkable endeavor. They are by no means attributable to any lack of knowledge or insight on the author's part, for they appear to be the direct result of the limitations inherent in the basic doctrine of the book, namely, that of Slavic unity as a substratum of Eastern European history. This doctrine involves the inevitable treatment of the history of non-Slavic nations of the Eastern European area as a functional annex merely of that of their Slavic neighbors, a scholarly subordination to which many national historians would take strong objections. On the other hand, while it is legitimate to study the history of all Slavic nations concurrently, it is not accurate, geographically and historically, to identify Slavic history with Eastern European history. Are the Czechs, the Poles, the Slovenes, and even the Croats a part of Eastern Europe? They are populations of Central Europe, or more specifically of *Ostmitteleuropa.* This difference could not escape Dvornik's attention, and it is possible that his term "Eastern Europe" stands for both *Osteuropa* and *Ostmitteleuropa,* but this has not, however, been explained, and, here again, many historians would object.

Within Slavic history proper, there is a remarkable coordination of presentation, and the information appears to be complete. Dvornik's aim, however, was beyond coordination alone; his conception of the organic unity of Slavic history is a commitment to a synthesis. One is sorry to say that no such synthesis has been produced by his study. Thus, he had to omit Russia from his comprehensive treatment of the political organization of medieval Slavic states (Chapter VI), as he had to by-pass it in his parallel study of Slavic medieval cultural achievements (Chapter VII); it simply would not fit in. In the postmedieval era, again, the social and political developments of western and southern Slavic nations had to be studied separately (Chapter XIV) from those of Muscovy (Chapters XV and XIX). The underlying realities made this separate study inevitable because of existing basic differences. It is true that Dvornik studied the cultural history of all Slavs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries within the same Chapter XIII, and the Reformation among all Slavs in the same Chapter XVI. Still, coordination rather than synthesis was achieved for cultural history, while, in the case of Muscovy, the Reformation could be mentioned only as an outside force.

All this proves the extreme difficulty in implementing the Slavic unity approach to the history of the Slavic nations in the period treated by the author in this book. This approach was much better rooted in historical reality in the period preceding the thirteenth century, and Dvornik proved it in his former book. It

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seems as if the author were carried by a familiar interpretation beyond the chronological boundaries within which its validity was undeniable into a more complex and more heterogeneous period.

While formulating all these reservations, readers of this book will not regret that Dvornik wrote it from his view of Slavic unity. This viewpoint is not frequently used as a tool, and, although it has its limitations, it also allows for unusual perspectives. To a degree the approach is valid, and it certainly has enriched and broadened our knowledge of Slavic history.

University of Washington MARC SZEFTEL

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND. By *Herbert H. Kaplan.* [East Central European Studies of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 215. $5.00.)

FOREIGN POLICY OF POLAND, 1919–39: FROM THE REBIRTH OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC TO WORLD WAR II. By *Roman Debicki.* Foreword by *Oscar Halecki.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. xi, 192. $5.50.)

DEATH IN THE FOREST: THE STORY OF THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE. By *J. K. Zawodny.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1962. Pp. xvii, 235. $6.50.)

To students of East Central Europe it is heartening indeed that the important but neglected subject of the partitions of Poland has attracted the attention of a young American scholar. Professor Herbert Kaplan has probed deeply into the intricate diplomatic maneuverings that culminated in the first partition of Poland. Well-equipped linguistically and having an opportunity to do his research in hitherto unexploited archives in Poland, the author illuminates a subject untouched for almost a century; Adolf Beer's work appeared in 1873.

The principal value of this study is that it brings out the correlation betweeen Poland's internal weaknesses and developments and the intrigues of its powerful neighbors. In this connection, however, it would appear that there is an overemphasis on the problem of the dissidents, especially since they must be considered more an excuse than a cause for foreign intervention. The author's emphasis may be questioned more seriously in his assessment of the relative degree of responsibility for the first partition as between Prussia and Austria. While Polish scholars have generally regarded the Prussians as the principal instigators of the first partition, the author makes a strong case, supported by documentation, against the Austrians.

Although entitled *Foreign Policy of Poland, 1919–39,* Professor Roman Debicki's book is actually an excellent survey of European diplomacy in the interwar period. It could not be otherwise, for the relations among the Great Powers

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more than any other factor determined Poland's security. Thus Poland was directly affected by the actions of the League of Nations, by Locarno, by the *Anschluss,* by Munich, and last, but most important, by the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. The conduct of Poland's diplomacy became increasingly difficult with the intensification of the ideological conflict between Nazism and Communism. Its leaders tried desperately through a "policy of equilibrium" to avert a choice between the two ideologies. Instead, they chose the West, that is, the league, France, England, and the United States as the best guarantee of Poland's security. But the league failed, France and England vacillated to the very last moment, and the United States remained indifferent. The destruction of the Polish state became the inevitable result of this situation once Hitler and Stalin grasped each other's hand.

As a member for many years of the Polish diplomatic service, Debicki adds firsthand experience to the careful analysis of printed and private sources that were available to him in the writing of this well-organized and judicious appraisal of Poland's interwar diplomacy.

Professor Zawodny's book is far from pleasant reading. New, incredible details are revealed in this gruesome narrative of the liquidation of between four thousand and five thousand Polish prisoners of war, mostly officers, in the forest of Katyn. Basing his account on all presently available data, including interviews with eyewitnesses, Zawodny points the accusing finger for the crime of Katyn directly at the NKVD. He explains the mass murder as an episode in the continuing class struggle for the victory of Communism. Extermination of the Polish military, professional, and intellectual elite would facilitate a Communist victory in Poland. The exact fate of ten thousand other Polish prisoners of war in the USSR remains a mystery. In the absence of any information of their whereabouts, Zawodny implies they met a death similar to that of their fellow prisoners from Camp Kozelsk. Only the discovery of new Katyns or the opening of the NKVD archives will make it possible to tell the full story. Until then, *Death in the Forest* will serve as a grim reminder of one of the worst crimes of the Stalin era—a crime, incidentally, that Khrushchev failed to mention at the Twentieth Party Congress.

Ohio State University CHARLES MORLEY

RUMANIA AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE: A STUDY OF THE DIPLOMACY OF IOAN I. C. BRĂTIANU. By *Sherman David Spector.* (New York: Bookman Associates. 1962. Pp. 368. $5.00.)

THE problems related to the creation of a greater Rumania by military and diplomatic means during and immediately after the end of World War I have never been thoroughly analyzed. Even R. W. Seton-Watson's chapters on war and

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peace in *A History of the Roumanians,* superior though they may be to more biased works such as those of Kiritzescu, Iorga, or Roller, are, by the very scope of his study, somewhat superficial. Significant details of Rumania's role in world politics between 1914 and 1920 were included in Seton-Watson's work, but since its appearance in 1934 new sources have become available largely through recent Russian and Rumanian publications that have rendered pre-World War II studies on wartime and interwar Rumanian history obsolete in many respects. An objective and comprehensive re-examination is, therefore, needed in this area.

Professor Spector's book goes a long way toward fulfilling this need. Centering his discussion on the focal figure of Ioan I. C. Brătianu, the author exposes the Rumanian Premier's diplomatic maneuvers designed to ensure the creation of the greatest possible Rumania, first playing the Central Powers against the *Entente* and later exploiting the weaknesses and contradictions in the victor's camp. The negotiations culminating in the secret alliance of August 1916 and Brătianu's endless machinations at the peace conference are carefully described. Spector scrutinizes all the high cards in Brătianu's hand—threats of a separate peace with the Central Powers, exploitation of the Bolshevik menace to Bessarabia and of Kun's regime to Transylvania, resignation from office at critical moments for the victorious allies, and the corollary military actions, first against Germany, later against the Communist forces in Bessarabia and Hungary.

Despite the author's skillful treatment of these problems and however valuable the excellent sections on the generally neglected topic of American reactions to Brătianu's policies, the work is nonetheless deficient in at least two major respects. Foremost is the oversimplification of Brătianu's actions and motivations. Granted that his ultimate aim was the securing of the greatest gains with the least sacrifices, Brătianu was more than a Machiavellian politician. His demands were rooted in major considerations of Rumanian domestic politics which Spector hardly mentions. The excessive territorial claims represented an attempt to substitute nationalist revendications for the near-revolutionary social demands of the Peasant party and other exponents of drastic agrarian reform to which Liberals as well as Conservatives were fundamentally opposed. A related factor is the problem of Bolshevik influences in Moldavia and Bessarabia, particularly among the army and peasantry which, as noted but only casually probed by the author, was a major factor in Brătianu's political maneuvers and extravagant territorial ambitions. Through more extensive utilization of recent Rumanian and Russian sources, Spector would have provided greater depth for his intelligent and scholarly, but primarily descriptive, study.

Wayne State University STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

REFORMATSIONNYE DVIZHENIIA V ROSSII V XIV–PERVOI POLOVINE XVI VV. [Reforming Movements in Russia from the Fourteenth

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through the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]. By *A. I. Klibanov.* (Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. 1960. Pp. 409.)

THE first part of this solid work is an analysis of three important groups of sources: the *Trifonovskii Sbornik* containing the *Vlasfimiia,* originally composed before 1312, and some other early writings; late fifteenth-century books of Ivan Chernyi and others, all with some writing in secret Permian script; and the "Laodicean Epistle" of Feodor Kuritsyn and the "Instructions on Reading and Writing." The second part contains a statement of such elements as trends in religious thought, the position of the Church, and anti-Church tendencies among the lower clergy, with detailed accounts of reforming movements in three periods: the second half of the fourteenth century when the "Shearers," lay priests, grew strong, when the Church was criticized in Tver, and when heretics flourished in Rostov; the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century which witnessed the continued influence of the "Shearers," who found the Church hierarchy unworthy, condemned simony, and refused the Eucharist, and then the development of anti-Trinitarianism, based on the Old Testament's affirmation of one God, criticism of Church bribes, iconoclasm, doubt over such beliefs as the Second Coming of Christ, and expression of opposition to secular power, dissatisfaction with the liturgy, and the concepts of social equality and freedom of labor; and the first half of the sixteenth century in which, among others, Makarii criticized monkish resistance to rules, anti-Trinitarians continued to flourish, "non-Possessors" condemned monastic landholding, Feodosii Kosoi and his followers stressed human freedom and a living faith, and some debated the humanity of Christ the Savior and opposed a strong government. The third and last part contains a sketch of humanism on the basis of an all-European rather than an Italian Renaissance model and analyses of such aspects of Russian humanism as the affirmation of man or man as his own master, *joie de vivre* ("priiatie zhizni") in marriage and the family and the things of this life, and the equality of peoples and faiths as in the writings of Afanasii Nikitin and I. S. Peresvetov.

The author's presentation suggests that there may be a link between reform movements and the emergence of Russian humanism, but he specifically denies that Nikitin and Peresvetov were heretics or reformers.

Although he has developed his arguments logically, criticism might be leveled at his solipsistic reasoning about Evfimii and his unwillingness to deal thoroughly with the connection between early humanistic tendencies and Russian humanism. This original work is based on a thorough command of sources and secondary literature, although one misses a reference to some recent Western studies on Russia. There is reasonable objectivity on the issue of Byzantine influences, and a charming modesty, a willingness to recognize the limitations of the conclusions that can be drawn in view of the incompleteness of the evidence.

The author debates with the distinguished Soviet scholar, Ia. S. Lur'e over

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the evaluation of reformers, as when Klibanov rejects the antireform label pinned by Lur'e on Nils Sorsky. A breath of fresh air is his statement: "Of course, it is possible to cite many historical examples, when on the soil of the defeat of revolutionary uprisings of the people there sprang up religious forms of protest, inspired by a passive relationship to reality, by pessimism, by nonresistance, by that lack of faith in one's own forces, which enables one especially willingly to be comforted through faith in miracles" (p. 269).

University of Kansas OSWALD P. BACKUS III

THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS UNDER THE LAST THREE CZARS. By *Jacob Walkin*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 115.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1962. Pp. viii, 320. $6.50.)

WALKIN's lucid, informative, and interesting book contains four parts, a preface, an epilogue, notes unfortunately relegated to the back of the volume, a critical bibliography, a bibliography, and an index. The first part, "Introduction to the Russian Past," deals with "the long-range characteristics of Russian society." The second, "Institutions of the State," concentrates on "the czar, the ministers, and the rule of law" and on "the police state—czarist version." The third part, "Society and Its Institutions," includes four chapters: prerevolutionary trends in Russian society; censorship and the press; the role of voluntary association in tsarist Russia; and the zemstvos—local self-government in an autocratic state. Part Four, "State and Society in Conflict," discusses "the Revolution of 1905 and the emergence of constitutional government" and "why the liberals lost and Bolsheviks won in 1917."

The work, then, constitutes a topical analysis by a political scientist of the main institutions of prerevolutionary Russia and of their interrelationship. The analysis is learned, intelligent, well integrated, and well organized. In addition to deftly handling his material proper, Walkin displays a knowledge of Russian history and culture in general and even a certain special flair for tsarist Russia and sensitivity to it. The stark thesis is essentially the liberal one: catastrophe came to Russia because the government kept, in a stubborn and even imbecile manner, holding to indefensible positions that should long since have been abandoned. All the same, Russian society was making remarkable progress, and everything might have worked out well, except for the First World War. A variant on the major liberal theme, however, is presented by Walkin's treatment of the Constitutional Democrats in the period immediately following the Revolution of 1905. He sides explicitly with V. A. Maklakov as against Miliukov and condemns the Constitu-

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tional Democrats for their refusal to cooperate with the government at the time, a course he considers to have been very much in the realm of the possible. Before too long, to be sure, the government turned farther to the Right and proceeded on its path of self-destruction.

Apart from comment on a few mistakes and more numerous misprints, at least two qualifications need to be made. The analysis is quite explicitly political, the author refusing to consider the basic economic dilemmas of Russia. Yet such an approach almost of necessity fails to do justice to the radical and revolutionary movements and parties, for it was precisely in the larger economic and social problems that they found, or tried to find, their *raison d'être*. In addition, Walkin is often too clear cut, too sure of too many things, ranging from the "obvious" success of Stolypin's controversial reforms to the claim that: "The educational effect of the Second Duma made its dissolution unnecessary. The liberal deputies were dispersed just at the point at which they were settling down to constructive effort on major legislation." On the whole, this is a fine book to be highly recommended both to those interested specifically in its subject and to the general reader.

University of California, Berkeley NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE RUSSIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, 1917: DOCUMENTS. In three volumes. Selected and edited by *Robert Paul Browder* and *Alexander F. Kerensky*. [Hoover Institution Publications.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xxx, 477; xxvi, 480–1193; xix, 1196–1875. $30.00 the set.)

THE provisional government, which ruled Russia for the seven and one-half months between the March and November revolutions of 1917, has received inadequate attention from historians or has been treated as a prelude to the Bolshevik seizure of power or as an interlude between the old regime and the new order. With these three volumes, edited by an American specialist and the leader of that provisional government for more than half of its existence, this short period becomes probably the best-documented time in all Russian history, even though insufficient attention is devoted here to the Bolsheviks.

Briefly, the editors have selected and translated fourteen hundred primary sources, most of them for the first time translated into English. The selections are excellent, the translations smooth and clear, and the scholarly introductions and notes completely adequate as summaries and guides. The editors have ranged very widely in selecting their materials, including the official administrative records of the government, laws and decrees, records of conferences and congresses, correspondence, pamphlets, and press reports. Very few sources are printed in full, and the average selection is only slightly more than a page in length. The first

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two volumes arrange materials topically (the collapse of the old regime, the establishment of the new government, the political, economic, and social problems and decisions of that government, the war, and foreign affairs), and the third volume provides source material on the politics and political crises of the period. The editors deliberately devote less attention to the Bolsheviks than histories of the period generally do, in part because the role of the Bolsheviks was not great until fall, in part because the Bolshevik actions in 1917 have been well studied, and in part because relatively few unpublished documents are available in this country on Lenin and his party in this period.

These volumes in a sense constitute a testament of the provisional government, or perhaps, more accurately, an obituary. Nowhere has more data been published on the actions this government took on the vast problems that almost overwhelmed it during its short existence. The achievements of the provisional government in penal reform, judicial changes, municipal, *uezd,* and provincial government, nationality problems, police, transportation, army supply, education, public finance, and other fields are most impressive. Indeed, the mass of problems was so great and demanded such immediate attention that one can understand why the government failed utterly to solve other issues, particularly whether and how to continue fighting and how to keep dissatisfied generals under control. Indeed, the documents show clearly that Kerensky and his colleagues, unprepared to rule, never had the opportunity or the sense to reflect about the policy they should adopt with regard to the war. This inability and this failure opened up the door to power for the Bolsheviks, and the documents reveal particularly clearly how the conflict between the civilians and the army leaders assisted Lenin.

In some ways, these volumes are not only an obituary to the provisional government, but also a signal proof of the strength of American libraries. Most of these materials were selected from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, an institution that did not exist when the Kerensky government was overthrown and that now possesses one of the most significant collections on modern Russian history in the world. This is representative of the extraordinary development of American libraries in the seventh decade of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, however useful these expensive volumes are, one wonders about the wisdom with which the editors and their assistants have lavished their time and energy. Certainly this is a rich collection that will be useful for students in particular. On the other hand, the serious scholar will not be satisfied with even splendidly selected and translated snippets from a wide range of documents. Perhaps a detailed catalogue of the Hoover Institution's holdings or of all of the holdings in this country on this period of Russian history would have been more valuable to scholars than these volumes, handsome and valuable though they are.

Indiana University ROBERT F. BYRNES

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THE SOVIET HIGH COMMAND: A MILITARY-POLITICAL HISTORY, 1918–1941. By *John Erickson*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 889. $15.00.)

MR. Erickson's subtitle, *A Military-Political History, 1918–1941,* is a more accurate description of his highly detailed study than his title. His stated aim was to provide a history of the origins and development of Soviet military leadership together with an account of the relationships between the military and the political rulers. Special attention is given to the political administration of the armed forces and to the commissars as well as to the great purges within the army and the connection of military power and foreign policies. The design is ambitious, and Erickson's accomplishment is impressive in all major respects except one.

His select bibliography would be a contribution by itself, containing as it does citations of Soviet, Polish, German, Japanese, and other sources. The four appendixes include tables of organization, orders of battle, excerpts from field regulations, and samples of exchanges between political and military leaders. Maps, charts, and tables appear throughout the text, tangential information is in footnotes, and the text is supported by copious notes, averaging about eighty per chapter, which are gathered at the back of the volume. The index is unusually complete.

The author's scholarship is not confined, however, to generous use of scholarly impedimenta. He notes, but does not draw explicit attention to an origin of the Trotsky-Stalin fight. "Stalin," writes Erickson concerning the events of 1918–1920, "on more than one occasion utilized momentary grievances to fashion a clique of calculated malevolence and self-seeking discord against Trotsky." His brief comparison of Stalin's purge of the Tukhachevsky group with Hitler's actions against the German high command in 1938 is perceptive. His judgments are careful, but keen and sophisticated, as, for example, in the following sentences: "That excessive and murderous suspiciousness of Stalin, together with the phenomenon of his identifying the safeguarding of his power with the salvation of the Soviet Union . . . may well have been a distortion through an uninhibited personal tyranny of certain features of the Soviet state. Yet before Stalin captured that power, the problem of military organization had created formidable problems out of the fears of the Party leadership and the dissatisfaction of the soldiers. After Stalin . . . Zhukov was swept out of his position for infringing the taboos. . . ."

Erickson, currently a lecturer in government at Manchester University, has collected, collated, evaluated, and set down a vast amount of information, readily available for reference and enlightening to study. It cannot, however, be easily read, both because of the style and the multiplicity of minute detail.

Syracuse University WARREN B. WALSH

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Near East

HISTORIANS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Edited by *Bernard Lewis* and *P. M. Holt*. [School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia, Volume IV.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 519. $8.00.)

An adequate review of the forty-one papers in this symposium, the fruit of a conference held in 1958 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, would be a major essay in itself. The range is broad. The papers vary from three to twenty-seven pages. Almost all deal exclusively with the Islamic period, with such minor exceptions as the mention of older Armenian or Syriac chronicles, or of genealogical and Biblical traditions that affected Moslem writers. About three-fourths of the scholars who participated in the conference are Western; the others are native to the Near East. Some papers deal with fairly general aspects of historiography, some with particular areas, restricted time periods, or individual historians. A nineteen-page introduction by the editors offers a concise survey of the contents, provides links between the often rather separate papers, and indicates further segments of the historiography of the area that have not been considered.

This is a unique book, valuable in particular to specialists working in the history of the Near East. As a critical guide to much of the important history writing on the area, it examines attitudes and preconceptions of the historians, their use of sources, and sometimes the sources themselves. The specialist, or even the graduate student, who begins with Sections D, M, and S of the new *American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature* will want to refer to various of the papers herein. For one interested solely in the history of history writing, many of the papers would provide hard sledding, but some would be of great interest, and most would furnish new information on the attitudes of Arabs, Persians, and Turks to their own histories, as well as on the attitudes of some Western historians toward Islamic history. The book is sprinkled with revealing remarks by Moslems about the uses of history.

The first twenty-two papers discuss Arabic, Persian, and Turkish historiography before the impact of the West in the nineteenth century. Ten more papers deal with European writing on the Near and Middle East since the Middle Ages. Six deal with modern historical writing in the Middle East. Two concluding essays, critically introduced by A. H. Hourani, take up broader themes. Instead of trying to single out a few papers for comment, I believe that a brief list will better serve readers of this review.

In Part I: Montgomery Watt on materials used by Ibn Isḥāq for the traditional life of Mohammed; Rosenthal on Biblical traditions that influenced Moslem historiography; Duri on the Iraq school of history to the ninth century; Gibb and Lambton on Islamic and Persian biographical literature; Cahen on the Seljuk

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period historiography for Iraq and Iran; Hilmy Ahmad on the Zengid and Ayyubid periods; Gabrieli on Arabic historiography of the crusades; Dahan on local histories of Syria; Pellat on historiography in Moslem Spain; Spuler on Persian historiography; Boyle on Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn as Mongol history sources; Minovi on the Persian historian Bayhaqī; Inalcik and Ménage on the beginnings of Ottoman history writing; Bernard Lewis on the use of non-Moslem sources by Moslem historians; Geoffrey Lewis on Ottoman *fetḥnāmes* (victory bulletins); Walsh on Turkish and Persian writing on Ottoman-Safavid relations; Salibi on Maronite historiography; Hourani on historians of Lebanon; Segal on Syriac chronicles as a source for Islamic history; Dowsett on Armenian historiography.

In Part II: Runciman on Byzantine works touching the Ottomans; Parry on Renaissance accounts of the Near East, especially Paolo Giovio; Holt on Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale on Arab history; Fück on major European writers on the area since 1800; Dunlop on Weil's history of the caliphs; Salibi on Lammens' writing on Islam and Syria; Yapp on Malcolm and Sykes on Persia; Hill on historical writing on the Sudan since 1820; Frye on Soviet historiography on Central Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries; Wheeler on Soviet writing on Iran, 1906 to 1946.

In Part III: Ayalon on al-Jabartī; Gamel el-Din el-Shayyal on historiography in nineteenth-century Egypt; Ercüment Kuran on Ottoman historiography, 1839 to 1908; Kazemzadeh on recent Iranian historiography; Nabih Faris on modern Arab reinterpretations of 'Alī's struggle with Mu'āwiya; Rizzitano on recent Arab plays reflecting anti-Westernism. In Part IV: von Grunebaum on self-image and the approach to history; Wilfred Smith on the historical development in Islam of the concept of Islam as a historical development.

George Washington University RODERIC H. DAVISON

Africa

HISTOIRE DE L'AFRIQUE. Volume I, DES ORIGINES AU XVI[e] SIÈCLE. By *Robert Cornevin*. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1962. Pp. 453. 30 fr.)

ROBERT Cornevin's latest work on Africa concerns the history of the continent from prehistoric times to the early sixteenth century. A second volume to be published later this year will deal with the period from 1500 to the present. Cornevin, who is presently administrator in chief for Overseas France and head of the *Centre d'Études et de Documentation sur l'Afrique et l'Outre-mer* in Paris, published a one-volume history of Africa in 1956 and in the past three years has written histories of the peoples of *Afrique Noire*, of Dahomey, and of Togo.

In his present study the author treats the entire continent of Africa as a single

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unit and seeks to show the evolution of contacts between the peoples of its various regions. He divides his account into three broad periods—prehistory to 1200 B.C., 1200 B.C. to A.D. 632, and A.D. 632 to A.D. 1500—which he calls respectively African Africa, Mediterranean Africa, and Arab Africa. The section entitled African Africa, which occupies one-sixth of the volume, contains a vivid description and analysis of Africa's prehistory in which the Sahara's relations with Egypt and with the rest of the continent are emphasized. The section called Mediterranean Africa encompasses Egypt after its first extensive contacts with the Mediterranean world, Carthage, and Roman Africa until the Arab conquest. It includes a useful forty-page account of Christianity in Berber lands, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nubia prior to the Moslem conquests in North Africa. The section labeled Arab Africa deals with Arab and Moslem activities and rule, the kingdoms and states south of the Sahara, and the maritime discoveries of Africa prior to Vasco da Gama.

Although Cornevin devotes more than half of his book to the Nile Valley, the Sahara, and the Maghreb, he gives careful attention to those parts of sub-Saharan Africa and Madagascar about which something is known. His study affirms the validity of considering the history of the entire continent as a single unit. It shows, for any who still may doubt it, that Negro Africa had an important history centuries before Western Europeans touched its shores in their attempts to reach the Indies.

It is difficult to decide the kind of audience Cornevin is seeking. The work is too detailed to be a general account, yet not exhaustive enough to serve as a text. The bibliography and the occasional citations in the text reveal the use of contemporary accounts and of the latest research works. Yet the text is not sufficiently documented, especially on controversial points, to satisfy the requirements of specialists. There are valuable insights scattered throughout the narrative, certain of them placed in italics so the reader will not miss them. But the insufficiency of analysis and the general lack of synthesis keep the book from serving as an interpretation of African history before 1500. Despite its shortcomings, Cornevin's volume, the first work of its scope to be written from a non-Marxist viewpoint, fills an important gap.

Bowling Green State University DAVID E. GARDINIER

SMUTS: THE SANGUINE YEARS, 1870–1919. By *W. K. Hancock*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 618. $10.00.)

THIS important book represents the first fruits of a large-scale scholarly enterprise begun shortly after Smuts's death in 1950 when Sir Keith Hancock of the Australian National University visited South Africa in order to establish a Smuts archive. Under his guidance and with the blessing of J. C. Smuts, his subject's

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youngest son and literary executor, a trustee group was formed in whose name a definitive collection of Smuts's personal and official papers, including a wide and valuable range of his private correspondence, was assembled. Plans were made for future use of these sources by scholars and for publication of a major part of them, together with the writing of a life that would exploit these riches. As a result of a decade's efforts, four volumes of selections are in press, and the biographical volume covering Smuts's career to the end of the First World War, when he succeeded his greatest friend, Louis Botha, as Prime Minister of the Union, has appeared. In these labors the essential aid of his archivist and translator, Dr. van der Poel of Cape Town University, is acknowledged by the author.

Hancock, a sensitive and fair interpreter of Smuts's extraordinary gifts and the complexities of his character, relates with consummate skill the Afrikaner's rise to power in his native land and to influence and renown abroad. The reader is introduced to the brilliant and intense young Boer, whose heart all his life was never far from a Cape Colony farm, as he progressed via Stellenbosch and Cambridge (where he often felt "utter desolation") to the status of a prosperous, happily married attorney of Johannesburg. Venerating Rhodes—until the Jameson Raid—Smuts was also deeply impressed in these formative years by Walt Whitman, whose zeal for synthesis and capacity "to take both sides at the same time" appealed to "his own passionate craving to apprehend and comprehend . . . an ordered and harmonious Whole." Once established in the Transvaal, Smuts, who years later would attain the office of Prime Minister without ever having served in opposition, made a spirited entry into politics as Kruger's state attorney and confidant at the age of twenty-eight. His services to his adopted state centered on desperate efforts to save it from the wrath of the "British Race Patriot," Milner, whose determination to end Boer independence Hancock makes plain. When diplomacy failed, Smuts, the commando leader, fought as hard in the saddle as he had done at the conference table. Accepting defeat rather than extermination, he conducted a rear-guard defense of Boer nationalism through negotiated surrender at Vereeniging. In so doing, however, he parted company forever with those *Volk* to whom continued struggle with Britain would henceforth be an act of faith.

Hancock then describes Smuts's major role in the creation of a self-governing union in which Boer interests would be protected and the racialism that set Briton against Boer minimized. He shows Smuts's curious refusal to face, despite the warnings of John X. Merriman, what he himself had called *the* South African question, that is, native enfranchisement. He dodged this issue by a change in drafting, an example of that technical dexterity which often laid him open to the charge of "slimness," or sharp practice. In this instance, as in others given, Hancock believes that Smuts was "slim" in the good rather than the bad sense of the word; he will not conceal, he writes, any evidence of double-dealing in his examination of Smuts's later career.

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The volume ends with Smuts's suppressing a major rebellion on the outbreak of the 1914 war, conquering German territories for the Union, joining the British War Cabinet, and furthering the interests of both Lloyd George and Wilson. As evidence of his capacity to move in diverse worlds, he is shown as the organizer of total victory and, less successfully, of a peace settlement that would offend neither his own sensibilities nor those of his Quaker friends. Hancock leaves him seeking a new balance between hope and wariness, in the growing conviction that "intractable human material is resistant to the patterns which men of liberal intelligence and good will attempt to impose upon it." Readers of this distinguished biography will look forward to its completion and to Hancock's final assessment of this remarkable and controversial figure.

University of South Carolina GEORGE CURRY

Asia and the East

KINGSHIP AND COMMUNITY IN EARLY INDIA. By *Charles Drekmeier*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 369. $7.50.)

EVER since the discovery of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya in the 1920's, ancient Indian political thought and organization have continued to attract the attention of historians and political scientists in India and the West, and the number of works devoted to an analysis and interpretation of its contents is formidable indeed. The *Arthaśāstra* has been studied by itself and also as a part of the great tradition of theorizing on polity; it has been compared with *The Prince* of Machiavelli and contrasted with the political thought of the dharmashastras and the Mahabharata. Hence, when a new work on ancient Indian polity makes an appearance, the reader is prone to approach it with a sense of weariness in the belief that all that needs to be said on the subject has already been said. But the subject still presents possibilities of new interpretation, and some of these possibilities are explored in this work.

The subject is presented in four parts, divided into sixteen chapters. It begins with a discussion of the religious and social background against which political theories are examined. Such a discussion entails a survey of the religious developments in ancient India and the peculiar social structure that influenced them and was influenced by them. The second part deals with the subject of the decline of the tribal cultures and the emergence of the two powers symbolized in the concepts of *kṣatra* and Brahma or danda and dharma. Part Three analyzes the conditions that contributed to the growth of royal authority, and in this the contents of the Epics, the *Arthaśāstra,* and the dharmashastras naturally figure prominently. Part Four describes the forms of political authority that developed

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in India through the period under study. The last chapter sets forth conclusions on the roles and impact of the political and social ideals represented by the Buddha, Kauṭalya, and Krishna.

The author's main concern seems to be with the predominance of sacerdotal over secular elements in ancient Indian political theory and practice. In a certain measure, it is argued, this was owing to the constitution and functions of the Brahmanic elite group, its social and political horizons, and the ethnic and cultural milieu that facilitated its dominance. In support of its thesis the work marshals an impressive array of facts and their interpretations based on the use of modern sociological and anthropological hypotheses, especially those of Max Weber. Nearly one-half of the work is devoted to the restating of facts already well known, for it does not really come to grips with the central subject until the third part. There are also some statements that seem to be oversimplifications and generalizations that can be accepted only with serious reservations. Can it be said, for instance, that the social implications of the karma doctrine were worked out clearly and in detail as early as the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa;* that Sudras were totally forbidden from participating in the sacrificial ritual even in the earliest times; that the Brahmans were never an affluent class, especially when we remember the constant complaints of the early Buddhists against rich and greedy Brahmans who were denounced as mere *brahmabandhus*? It is argued that the tradition of royal patronage of religion really began with Aśoka, but it is well known that such a tradition goes much farther back in antiquity than the time of Aśoka. The author rightly devotes considerable space to the Maurya and Gupta ages, but has practically nothing of significance to say about the Sákas and the Kuśaṇs.

Such criticism does not seriously detract from the value of the work. The author has offered several significant insights into the process of the formulation and development of ancient Indian polity, and his work displays scholarship and critical judgment. The documentation is admirable and the bibliography comprehensive.

Wake Forest College B. G. Gokhale

THE MODERNIZATION OF CHINA AND JAPAN. By *George M. Beckmann.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1962. Pp. 724. $7.80.)

This is an ambitious effort to recount in a single volume the history of China and Japan in modern times. The parts dealing with Japan appear to be excellent, and the section on nineteenth-century China likewise is remarkably good. In his eagerness to record the minutiae of politics and international relations in the twentieth century, however, the author frequently has slighted or overlooked the underlying forces that actually shaped the history of China after 1900. He devotes,

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for example, fifteen pages to a detailed description of the political maneuvering that surrounded the creation of the Chinese Republic in 1912, but sets aside only three for a discussion of the subsequent and equally important intellectual revolution. He does not explain adequately what caused the Chinese to embrace Marxism-Leninism instead of Western pragmatism and democracy, and he ignores almost completely the literary revolution that created an entirely new climate of opinion in China. In a book replete with names, including those of even minor political and military leaders, there is no mention of China's greatest modern writer, Lu Hsün, whose works influenced profoundly the thought and behavior of a whole generation of Chinese. This disregard of intellectual history persists throughout the book.

The author is no less indifferent to much of the military history of modern China. His treatment of the war lords, who ruled China for more than three decades, is superficial and unperceptive. He passes over, furthermore, what may be one of the most momentous developments in the history of modern warfare, namely, the growth of the Chinese Red Army and the evolution of Mao Tse-tung's strategy of mobile and partisan warfare. Communist military operations against the Kuomintang in the south are hardly mentioned, while those in the north, after its occupation by the Japanese, are disposed of in twelve lines. On the other hand, at least five pages are used to describe the Nationalist government's diplomatic relations with the United States during and after the Second World War.

In addition to slighting the military aspects of Chinese Communism, the author also neglects to explore the wartime ideological reforms known as *Cheng Feng* with the result that his readers are given no insight into such ideological dynamics of Chinese Communism as the intraparty struggle, the role of "deviationism," the concept of regeneration, and the impact of all this on the psyche of the individual party member. When discussing the popular appeal of Communism, he overlooks the exceedingly important women's movement and fails to illustrate how Communist tactics won over millions of Chinese peasants by causing them to experience for the first time a feeling of self-respect and "identity."

Chiang Kai-shek's regime is scrutinized more closely; there is, however, no analysis of its basic characteristics—its division into a host of mutually antagonistic factions, the ways Chiang encouraged such factionalism in order to sustain his own authority, and the consequent ineffectiveness and demoralization of his army and the governing bureaucracy. Although in his bibliography the author disparages Ch'ien Tuan-sheng's study of political life under the Kuomintang, he does not succeed in communicating the meaning of this valuable book. Other significant works are omitted altogether from his bibliography. These include Harold Isaacs' study of the American image of China and its impact on American policy toward the Chinese; Paul Varg's treatise on the missionary movement after 1900, which the author virtually ignores; and Graham Peck's monumental

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book about wartime China, entitled *Two Kinds of Time*. The omission of Peck's book may account for the author's failure to make clear some of the fundamental reasons why the Nationalist government disintegrated so rapidly during the 1940's. His treatment of events on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan since 1949 is more adequate, but still too cursory to be of much value.

Duke University DONALD G. GILLIN

THE JAPANESE SEIZURE OF KOREA: 1868–1910. A STUDY OF REALISM AND IDEALISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By *Hilary Conroy*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1960. Pp. 544. $7.50.)

OCCASIONALLY a book is written that invites controversy, inevitably draws sharp rebuttal, and offers opportunity for the author to reply. Whereupon the work might remain important only for the specialists involved in the discussion, unless its significance outlasts the argument. Such is the case with Professor Hilary Conroy's volume.

Conroy's experience and training are impressive. With regard to one of the world's most emotion charged relationships (between Japan and Korea), there is a desperate need for scholars to substitute light for heat. With a heritage of bitterness dating from at least the sixteenth century and with current issues intruding upon objectivity, both Korean and Japanese scholars have found it impossible to make balanced studies of the relationship. What they have failed to do, Conroy has dared to do.

At least the author has tried to illuminate one phase of the tragic relationship, and he has tried to do so by studying only the formulation of Japanese policy toward Korea between 1868 and 1910. This is an important point for, as the author states, the study is based on "Japanese sources which, of course, reflect Japanese views . . . abundantly, and Chinese, Russian, and Korean sources but little." Even the author's critics in Korea admit that Conroy is probably the first Western scholar who has gone through the Japanese Foreign Ministry archives on Japanese-Korean relations. Such documents were not available to Korean scholars until about 1957.

The scope of Conroy's scholarship is truly astounding. He has begun with the famous *Seikan Ron* (argument over whether to conquer Korea, 1873); he has dealt with the relationship between internal sectionalism and foreign policy (particularly the significant connection between the reactionary provincialism of Saigo Takamori and expansion); he has methodically worked his way through the Sino-Japanese War (the amazingly frank diary of Sugimura Fukashi, recording activities in the Japanese legation, Seoul, 1894–1895, is revealing); and he has drawn an interesting conclusion, that final annexation constituted liberalism's

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"susceptibility to realism" and conversion into reaction. Only the specialist will appreciate the various problems Conroy must have faced in finding the materials and in translating them.

Systematically reviewing "straight line" (political, economic), Korean, and Japanese interpretations of the seizure, the author eventually came to reject the deep-seated plot thesis. It has become impossible, he claims, to assume any such simple explanation as "Japan always had her eye on Korea."

The reaction to Conroy's work among Korean scholars was immediate and has been sustained. Characteristic of the vigorous response is the review article by Dr. Chon Dong, "Can Aggression Be Justified and Imperialism Rationalized by 'Realism'?" (*Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities,* No. 14, 1961), which ran to thirty-seven pages. Dong himself has dealt extensively with the period of annexation ("Japanese Annexation of Korea: A Study of Korean-Japanese Relations to 1910," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1955). In brief, Dong decried Conroy's "heavy reliance on Japanese materials" and the resultant failure to paint the true picture of Japanese annexation of Korea. The author, argued Dong, confused "idealism" with "conquest," "invasion," and "expansion"; "realism" with "aggression," "imperialism," and "brutality"; "reaction" with the "Japanese way of life." To argue that there was "no money" in the Korean venture (Chapter IX, "Some Economic Matters") "is nonsense," wrote Dong. Finally, Conroy's cross references to American history are more of "contrast," not "comparison."

If indeed the American scholar has missed some points in this complex story, if he has rendered in subtle tones what might well have been painted in garish colors, the Korean rebuttal, nevertheless, has missed the point of the book. Dong has reviewed the book in terms of what the author never set out to do. After all, Conroy says that Japan did finally annex Korea; the act was a tragedy for Korea; Japanese aggression and imperialism have poisoned the neighbors' relations ever since. The question still remains—for Korean, Japanese, and American scholars alike—why did Japan embark on a course of imperialism?

For the nonspecialist, such questions—rather than details—illuminate the importance of Conroy's work. Dealing with one of the most apparently obvious examples of callous expansion, Conroy has framed his case study in such a way as to illustrate the immense complexity of the phenomenon of imperialism. Until his work appeared, the Korean viewpoint was justified, yet insufficient to explain the course of events. Earlier Japanese viewpoints (there were several) were, of course, unjustifiable, yet significant for purposes of explaining motivation. As his Korean critics claim, Conroy may not have written a definitive answer. He has, however, built, for the specialist and nonspecialist alike, a significant framework within which the important questions about imperialism can be asked.

Rutgers University ARDATH W. BURKS

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CAPITAL FORMATION IN JAPAN, 1868–1940. By *Henry Rosovsky*. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1961. Pp. xiii, 358. $7.50.)

Over the past decade economists have become increasingly interested in all aspects of the process of economic growth. As a result, the former wide gulf between the study of economic history, on the one hand, and economic generalization or economic theory, on the other, has narrowed. Under the leadership of Professor Simon Kuznets, quantitative techniques have been applied to historical economic data, and economists' efforts to learn more about historical rates of economic growth and of capital formation, and to measure economic performance over time, have drawn history and economics closer together. Rosovsky's study is a major contribution to quantitative economic history. It is a careful, painstaking, thorough effort at estimating long-term capital formation in Japan, by components, from 1868 to 1940. As Rosovsky notes, capital formation is only one aspect or symptom of industrialization. There are others of equal or greater importance. But it is a major factor in the rate of economic growth and an essential ingredient in the determination of a country's gross national product.

The study is divided into two parts, the first on analysis, the second on measurement. Probably only the part on "Analysis," which includes the first four chapters of the book, will be of interest to most historians. The first chapter, dealing with "domestic and national capital formation," summarizes the essence of Rosovsky's findings. From 1887 to 1940, he notes, Gross Domestic Capital Formation (GDCF) averaged 16.1 per cent of GNP. Within this average there were four periods of distinctly different investment activity. The first extended from 1887 until about 1907–1916 and was characterized by a rather steady investment ratio of about 12 per cent. This was followed by the remarkable second period, lasting until approximately 1922: the intensive spurt associated with World War I, during which the investment ratio rose rapidly to about 18.5 per cent. Nominally on the side of the Allies, Japan was, in fact, given the opportunity to sit on the side lines of the actual conflict while making huge export profits. The third period included the troubled 1920's and the Great Depression. Its major attribute was a slightly sagging investment ratio or a plateau—at a considerably higher level, however, than that prevailing during the first period. Finally, in the early 1930's, the fourth period began, and another spurt, associated with militarist expansion and armament activity, developed, which carried the ratio to its all-time pre-World War II high (of 25 per cent) by the end of the decade.

For historians, the most interesting and readable chapter is the fourth, entitled "Japanese Economic Development and the Western Model." In it, Rosovsky attempts to place Japanese economic development, sketched on a broader scale than elsewhere in the study, into an idealized comparative framework which has been called the "Western Model." He utilizes a descriptive historical model explaining the process of European economic development—the Gerschenkron

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model developed some years ago—and attempts to apply its main features to Japan, as a test of uniformities and peculiarities. The result is a most interesting set of comparisons and contrasts.

Part II ("Measurement"), the greater part of the book, is an elaborate and detailed account of the problems encountered and techniques utilized in building estimates for the various components of domestic capital. While it is very skillfully developed, it will prove to be very difficult material for the nonspecialist, although throughout the chapters there are interesting insights into then current affairs and conditions.

With respect to capital formation, his main contention is sharply delineated. "It is the thesis of this study," he declares, "that the availability of traditional capital and techniques which remained serviceable made possible the larger-scale commitments to new style investment. The natural capability of the Japanese economy to mix the styles of its capital formation is one of the most important determinants of its successful growth. Japan brought to economic development a built-in resistance to the corroding influence of the demonstration effect—the deep commitment to a traditional economy that has continued to be productive to this day. The modern sector has succeeded because it climbed onto the shoulders of the traditional sector."

With respect to timing, he notes: "Japan started out in the modern era with fairly moderate levels of capital formation, which were maintained for about thirty years. Then she advanced quickly to very respectable international levels, and at the very end [1940], ranked with the heavier investors of the period. The question of timing is both historical and theoretical. Historically, Japan was a relative latecomer to the industrial scene. . . . Japanese industrialization, as expressed in the vigor of its capital formation, is a twentieth-century phenomenon."

In providing the most definitive study to date on capital formation in Japan, Rosovsky has made a major contribution to the still too-limited volume of literature on quantitative economic history.

City University of New York JEROME B. COHEN

Americas

THE IMAGE: OR WHAT HAPPENED TO THE AMERICAN DREAM. By *Daniel J. Boorstin*. (New York: Atheneum. 1962. Pp. ix, 315. $5.00.)

THIS book deals with a plague, "Our plague, our disease of extravagant expectations. . . ." The author recalls the myth of Narcissus for explication. Wrathful gods doomed Narcissus to fall in love with his own image. When he saw himself in the spring, "his passion for this phantom so obsessed him then and there that he could not leave the waterside. On that very spot he died of languor." We Americans collectively have become Narcissus. "We have fallen in love with

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our image, with images of our making, which turn out to be images of ourselves."

How did this sickness come upon us? The chapter titles suggest the manner of its onset: "From News Gathering to News Making: A Flood of Pseudo-Events"; "From Hero to Celebrity: The Human Pseudo-Event"; "From Shapes to Shadows: Dissolving Forms"; "From Ideal to Image: The Search for Self-Fulfilling Prophecies." These make up the chief (but not all) notations on the chart at the foot of our hospital bed.

What is a pseudo event? The author selects, among others, an illustration from the newsman's world. He comments on the growing mania for news in the modern age, "a symptom of expectations enlarged beyond the capacity of the natural world to satisfy." To meet the demand, those who deal in news create the pseudo event. "Pseudo-events spawn other pseudo-events in geometric progression. This is partly because every kind of pseudo-event (being planned) tends to become ritualized, with a protocol and rigidity all its own. . . . Thus as the press conference (itself a pseudo-event) became formalized, there grew up the institutionalized leak. As the leak becomes formalized still other devices will appear." The author lists eight separate characteristics of pseudo events. The most spectacular of these contrived happenings in recent times were the elaborately mounted TV "debates" between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy in 1960. The human pseudo event is the celebrity. As, in the author's lexicon, the pseudo event is more dramatic, more interesting than the real thing, the celebrity displaces the occasional authentic hero. "In America today heroes, like fairy tales, are seldom for sophisticated adults. But we multiply our Oscars and Emmies, our awards for the Father of the Year, our crowns for Mrs. America and Miss Photoflash."

What about "From Shapes to Shadows"? The author takes off from the affirmation that "the artist gives his work a unique, inimitable embodiment. . . . Every work of art had the fixity, the precise boundaries which until recently were attributed to God's work in Creation. . . . The original had a priceless and ineffable uniqueness." But the graphic revolution got under way in the nineteenth century. Then the novel, the play, the movie became interchangeable. A particular novel, the original work of art, dissolves into other forms. One of these is the "condensation" to be found in *Omnibook* or *Reader's Digest*. Then *Reader's Digest*, hungry for fare, plants originals to be digested. As for pictures, color reproductions have brought the work of the masters to every man. And every man draws his sustenance from the shadow. "The original itself acquires a technical, esoteric status. It becomes nothing more than a kind of prototype like the type-casting of our books. . . . From our point of view it is more and more the copy, and not the original which seems to fulfill the artist's true democratic-humanitarian-'life-enriching' purpose. It is the Van Gogh 'Sunflowers' that hangs in our college room, and not that which hangs in the Museum, that is full of meaning for us."

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The quotations suggest the author's method. Some of the social description is well documented. The discussion of *Reader's Digest* is detailed, well supported, and illuminating. Some of the comment is pure impressionism, the author's vision of selected aspects of life in America.

What about Narcissus? He appears in many roles and in many contexts. Let us consider him as he unlimbers his camera. The author's account illustrates further his impressionistic method. "Man fulfills his dream and by photographic magic produces a precise image of the Grand Canyon. The result is not that he adores nature or beauty the more. Instead he adores his camera—and himself. He is impressed, not by what he sees, nor by the forms that can be made or found. Rather by the extreme and ever-growing cleverness of his way of seeing it. Fidgeting with his camera, he becomes less concerned with what is out there. . . . Instead photography becomes a form of narcissism. 'Have you seen *my* snapshots of the Mona Lisa?' " One vaguely wonders if this type of comment on the photographer and his picture may not have some relevance to the picture of *The Image* which we have been handed to look at.

But the plague—can it be cured? "Though we may suffer from mass illusions, there is no formula for mass disenchantment. By the law of pseudo-events, all efforts at mass disenchantment themselves only embroider our illusions. . . . Each of us must disenchant himself, must moderate his expectations, must prepare himself to receive messages coming in from the outside. The first step is to begin to suspect that there may be a world out there, beyond our present or future power to image or imagine. . . . We should try to reach outside our images. We should seek new ways of letting messages reach us; from our past, from God, from the world which we may hate or think we hate."

Professor Boorstin is in earnest. One must praise his intention. He gives us much truth. But his highly personal impressionistic descriptions and interpretations of American life often fail to persuade. He has, moreover, detached his world of "pseudo-events" and "images" from that of real events, among others, the continuing effort to create, in the arts, forms expressive of our age and the persistent struggle to translate traditional ideals into social realities. Discussion without this perspective has produced distortion. One is reminded of the phrase "group caricature" which the author applies to the work of the "new social science historians." It applies here.

American University RALPH H. GABRIEL

BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER: A HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, 1619–1962. By *Lerone Bennett, Jr.* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. xii, 404. $6.95.)

SOME three years ago the editors of the mass circulating pictorial monthly,

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Ebony, sensing the Negroes' rising interest in their role in the American past, decided to free staff member Lerone Bennett, Jr., for a history writing assignment. The editors soon had cause for satisfaction; *Ebony*'s predominantly colored readers responded enthusiastically to the published series of articles, appearing in chronological sequence, on the Negro related aspects of the American experience. Bringing these articles together between covers was a logical next step, especially since the magazine's owners had recently formed a book publishing company devoted to Negro themes. Taking its name from the fact that the first Negroes who arrived in the English mainland colonies antedated the Pilgrims by one year, *Before the Mayflower* opens with a description of the empires of medieval Africa. This is followed by ten chapters, most of which are conventional in thematic pattern—the Revolutionary War, slavery ("Behind the Cotton Curtain"), the Civil War, Reconstruction—and a few which are not, such as the one entitled "Miscegenation in America." If some of Bennett's topics seem to border on the sensational, it must be borne in mind that often the materials presented by writers working in Negro themes seem incredible because unfamiliar.

This volume is avowedly designed for the general reader. Many of its nearly seventy striking illustrations are full page or half page. Its text, too, takes on a pictorial quality, dwelling on the storied past, the dramatic incident or episode. Some chapters have an air of sketchiness, such as the concluding one, "From Booker T. Washington to Martin Luther King, Jr." But this somewhat loose texture is given backbone by a fifty-one-page appendix, "Milestones and Landmarks," a chronology interspersed with thumbnail profiles of half a dozen notables, such as Dr. Charles R. Drew of blood bank fame. For liveliness, Bennett may add a speculative touch; perhaps, he surmises, the Arab businessmen who wandered the streets of ancient Timbuktu might have been looking for excitement and were traveling on expense accounts. The frequent use of the one-sentence paragraph—"Monday morning dawned and Nat rode on"—is doubtless another effort to enliven things. But Bennett needs no tricks to make the reader turn the page; he is a gifted writer.

If his sympathies are evident, Bennett has bridled his fancy as concerns the essential facts. He has steeped himself in the secondary materials, both vintage and contemporary, supplementing these with a substantial reading in the historical journals and a consultation of some of the printed primary sources. *Before the Mayflower* does not purport to present information hitherto uncovered or to furnish new perspectives. But whether or not one is familiar with the book's content, he may well be moved by its unusual ability to evoke the tragedy and the glory of the Negro's role in the American past.

Morgan State College BENJAMIN QUARLES

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POPULAR EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT IN AMERICA. By *Rush Welter*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 473. $8.50.)

In following the reaction of many younger scholars against the instrumentalist or functional approach to the history of ideas I have wondered when we would see a re-emphasis on the relation of ideas to social, economic, and political contexts. Without ignoring the recent focus on what I once called the exploration of "the interior of ideas," Rush Welter has now given us a systematic, well-documented, closely reasoned, and thought-provoking study of the interactions between American commitment to education and American political thought, discussion, and action. The overarching thesis holds that education, in both the formal and informal sense, has reflected and been used to justify group interests and aspirations and at the same time to shape political discussion creatively and to influence political judgments deeply.

The organization of the book is chronological and topical. The clear and firm summary of the emergence of educational thought and institutions in the colonies emphasizes the fundamental purposes of education in relation to the Protestant Reformation and the commercial and planting classes, purposes at once limited, hierarchical, and authority oriented. With a nice discrimination Welter shows the emphasis in the early Republic on education as a means of preventing excesses of liberty and of developing leadership. In the Jacksonian period the principal parties came to regard education as a major social instrument as well as a technique for individual advancement in an open society. The analysis proceeds to the shifts in emphasis in the post-Civil War period in which competing social groups envisioned education, on the formal and informal levels, as both functional to their own interests and to public policy and well-being. Students of the progressive years will find much to reward them in the fresh insights into major and competing patterns of thought and in subsequent criticisms of them. Under the impact of the unfolding twentieth-century economic revolution with its accompanying changes in social structure, with new emphases on the nonrational aspects of behavior (including preoccupation with and responses to propaganda, advertising, and the concept of myth), reliance on education as the major instrument of realizing the promises of democracy has, as Welter shows both cogently and brilliantly, retreated to a near-vanishing point. At the same time faith in education as a means of personal advance and as a mechanism for training leaders has, somewhat paradoxically, made substantive headway.

Welter's emphasis is on the thought of major groups—social, political, and occupational—all in dynamic change. But he has not neglected political and intellectual leaders; his analysis of these is sharp, judicious, and often original. His over-all framework skillfully provides for an almost dialectical interaction between challenge and response on the part of both the groups themselves and their leading spokesmen.

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One of the important contributions of the study is the distinction drawn between formal and informal education. By informal education Welter means popular deliberation and discussion of public issues apart from the formal agencies and institutions commonly associated with education. To put it differently, informal education is participation in and reaction to opinion forming and decision-making processes in the public sphere. This is of course a familiar idea, but many historians have not adequately considered it.

Every good book has some limitations. Important as the concept of informal education in the democratic process is, it seems to me to have been less successfully handled than the role of formal education in group and individual expression. Despite the comprehensiveness of the book some may feel that more emphasis might have been put on ethnic groups and on spokesmen for the Catholic Church, though these receive some attention, especially in the treatment of the mid-nineteenth century. The overuse on page after page of the phrases "on the one hand" and "on the other" may be a mere stylistic matter, but it may reflect the difficulty of resolving ambivalences in group and individual expression.

These are minor shortcomings. In its conceptual framework, in its skillful use of monographs and primary materials (the footnotes and bibliography run to a hundred pages), and in the success achieved in clarifying the implications of the whole analysis for the problems and issues of our time without betrayal of scholarly canons, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* is, in my judgment, one of the more important contributions to the history of ideas in America that the last decade has seen.

University of Wisconsin MERLE CURTI

PROBING THE AMERICAN WEST: PAPERS FROM THE SANTA FE CONFERENCE. Edited by *K. Ross Toole et al.* Introduction by *Ray A. Billington.* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 216. $5.00.)

IN the spring of 1961 K. Ross Toole and John Alexander Carroll tentatively suggested a conference on the history of western America. The response was a gathering of three hundred at Santa Fe that fall, followed by a second meeting at Denver in October 1962. These conferences are evidence of life in the old field, news that will perplex those who had detected a disappearance comparable to the disappearance of the frontier. Three or four hundred registrants do not guarantee more than half a dozen geniuses, yet the reports on the two meetings indicate a healthy enthusiasm. As a further testament of the Santa Fe meeting, *Probing the American West* presents a sheaf of papers from its program.

Any such proceedings volume is in peril of being a miscellany in content and quality. This volume ran the further hazard of committee editing, to which can

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be ascribed certain internal inconsistencies. Half a dozen of the papers included had prior publication in *El Palacio* and elsewhere, and some of the most intriguing by title for one reason or another do not appear. Among them are John H. Kemble's "To Arizona by Sea," Wallace Farnham's "The View from the Union Pacific," and Alan Swallow's charitable characterization of the history in this field as "The Worst Scholarship in the World."

By its nature, this book is not a register of the most distinguished scholarship in its field. It would yield gracefully to a shelf stretching back about six years and stocked with monographs such as *Great Basin Kingdom, Rebel of the Rockies, The Health Seekers of Southern California, William Sublette,* and *Among the Mormons,* and an equal number of edited document volumes from the desks of Hafen, Hammond, Morgan, and company.

To me, the most successful ventures are the pieces addressed to well-defined, modest topics and cast in simple expository form. William T. Hagan's sketch of Quannah Parker is an instance and the more convincing because it utilizes the insights of ethnology as well as history. Dwight L. Smith's recitation on "Hoskanini: A Gold Mining Venture in Glen Canyon," though the chronicle of a failure, is a neat bit of economic history. Also noteworthy is Robert V. Hine's graceful essay in business history, "Urban Development on the Irvine Ranch." The papers that are revisionist in effort or summons seem paradoxically more commonplace. President Ray A. Billington's contribution is an optimistic overview of the conference, the field, and the volume.

Another estimate would report the historians of the West strongly drawn toward exploiting new evidence and reconsidering the old on the Spanish borderlands and the American frontier, still quite chary about postfrontier researches, and oftentimes indifferent to synthesis. In what it does not contain as well as in what it delivers, this volume of proceedings is a revealing document on current status in one important area of interest.

University of California, Los Angeles JOHN W. CAUGHEY

PURITANS AND YANKEES: THE WINTHROP DYNASTY OF NEW ENGLAND, 1630–1717. By *Richard S. Dunn.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 379. $7.50.)

IN writing this study of the four leading Winthrops of seventeenth-century New England—the Puritan governor, John; his son, John, Jr.; and the latter's two sons, Fitz-John and Wait Still—Mr. Dunn has had the advantage of a superb collection of family papers. The Winthrop Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society, only partly published in some fourteen volumes, "probably constitute," Dunn writes without exaggeration, "the largest, most variegated and most interesting series of private papers in pre-revolutionary America," and

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they have hitherto been only unevenly exploited. The elder John's papers have been used again and again, but his son's records, though in part familiar, have been surprisingly neglected, and those of the third generation have been almost totally ignored.

This neglect is not accidental. It reflects the almost exclusive preoccupation of generations of colonial historians with the early years of settlement and their inability to find in the history of the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth century anything but an epilogue to the settlements or a prologue to the Revolution. Dunn's full treatment of Fitz and Wait (almost half the book is devoted to them) helps materially to fill in the turn of the century history of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and, more important, to make clear the central issues in the general history of that era by detailing the brothers' obsessive concern with speculative land dealings, aping English fashions, and maneuvering within the enormously complicated and only vaguely understood system of Anglo-American politics.

So clearly original and important is this part of the book that one wonders whether the general theme of the "dynasty's" history, which necessitated biographies of the first Winthrop and his son, has served Dunn well. His topic, he writes, is the history of the family through three generations: "viewed collectively, the public careers of the four members of the dynasty—their programs, achievements, and failures—are our best index to New England's early development. . . . the family epitomizes New England's gradual transformation from Puritan to Yankee. . . . the secularization of the New England conscience." But since "Yankee" is a notoriously vague designation and since, if the New England "conscience" had been transformed by 1700, it can hardly be said to have been secularized, this stated theme proves to be only fitfully relevant. Nor does a subordinate theme, the shifting character of New England's relations with the mother country, successfully unite the four biographies into an integrated whole.

Dunn's accounts of the four men provide not one but several quite distinct modes of entry into the general history of New England. The elder John's biography *is,* rather than *exemplifies,* the political history of the first generation, and logic would require that the entire story be retold. Such an account would obviously be out of place in this book, and Dunn sensibly compromises with a two-chapter survey of the major episodes in Winthrop's life; he does not attempt to add more than a judicious interpretation to what is known. In the case of the "cosmopolitan, tolerant, worldly, charming, and wily" John, Jr., of whom the least that can be said is that he was egregious, the epitomization emerges from the narrative only by implication, in the contrast between the subject proper and the "increasing pettiness and provinciality of New England society." The main emphasis in these six chapters is placed not on an effort to exemplify many ordinary lives in the life of this one remarkable man but on detailing major episodes, important in themselves, in which he was concerned. A number of these episodes,

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particularly the long, carefully worked out section on the negotiations for the Connecticut charter and the struggle for possession of the Narragansett country, are important contributions to seventeenth-century history. This part of the book is full of interest, for Winthrop, who ceaselessly struggled against accepting his fated role as leader of a cluster of wilderness hamlets, is a fascinating man; but by the very nature of their subject's attractiveness these six chapters fall short of epitomizing New England's history in the mid-seventeenth century. It is in the careers of Fitz and Wait that Dunn's approach works best, for there an important group in society, if not the whole of society, is truly exemplified. Much of the narrative in this section is new, and the passages that review familiar episodes, like the account of the rebellion against Andros, contain fresh material from the Winthrop papers. The two brothers have none of the charm of their father or the impressiveness of their grandfather; they emerge from Dunn's pages, in fact, as decidedly unappealing figures, endlessly grasping for petty, personal advantages. But Dunn realizes that their struggles, however selfish and trivial, were part of the history of early American politics, and we know more about that obscure subject as a result of his thorough book.

Harvard University BERNARD BAILYN

A PEOPLE AMONG PEOPLES: QUAKER BENEVOLENCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA. By *Sydney V. James*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xv, 405. $8.00.)

JAMES's thesis is that American Quakers espoused humanitarianism to vindicate their character in a society in which they were destined to be a permanent and perhaps isolated minority. Originally devoted to asceticism and the renunciation of worldly activity not consistent with inner conviction, Quakers found themselves the dominant social element in early Pennsylvania and succumbed to the temptation to direct the government. There was a basic incongruity, however, between public leadership and the practice of their faith. Nothing in their creed fitted them to rule. The decline of spiritual values became a matter of deep concern among Friends as wealthy Quakers took on the modes of their social class and Quaker "Politiques" supported war measures.

The secularization of the Quaker community was arrested by a pietistic revival which, although opposed by rich and powerful members of the church, converted the body of members to a reaffirmation of principle. Confronted, at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, by a clear choice between compromising belief or relinquishing power, the church, under the influence of reformers, obliged its members to retire from government and thereby renounced aspiration to secular

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rule. Greater trials were in store during the American Revolution when the refusal of Quakers to support the patriot cause incurred the stigma of disloyalty and threatened to alienate the majority of the people.

The solution to the problem was found in the amplification of the Quaker doctrine of charity. Obligation to practice benevolence had been restricted to the intercourse of Friends. The concept of charity was enlarged in the mid-eighteenth century to include church action in behalf of friendly relations with Indians, Negro emancipation, and the abolition of the slave trade. Finally, under necessity of proving that their abjuration of war sprang from conscience and that their sectarian ways were compatible with responsible citizenship, Quakers turned to humanitarianism as the chief mode of conveying the values of their religion to outsiders. By its evocation of religious impulses, humanitarianism helped to perpetuate and unify the Quaker church in an evolving society. It linked Quakers with outsiders in vital activities and sustained the importance of the church in American life.

This excellent book adheres too closely to its central interpretation in giving no credit to the general advance of humanitarianism in the last half of the eighteenth century. Since it is not about politics it can be excused from a more extensive treatment of Quaker politics in Pennsylvania. But it would seem pertinent for the author to have put more emphasis upon the American Revolution, when the Quaker church was laid under heavy stress by conflicting claims upon the loyalties of its members. Apart from such cavils, however, it is a very good book. Its major thesis is illuminating, and the book as a whole is a rich elucidation of Quaker mentality. The church is viewed from within, and all its actions are rendered in terms of the working of religious principle. A study in depth, this book is invested with a keen sense of the times.

University of Maryland E. James Ferguson

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNION. By *Albert D. Kirwan*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 514. $8.50.)

One of the most difficult chapters in the history of American democracy is that dealing with the decline of the use of real issues and principles and the increasing recourse to symbols, romance, smears, lies, prejudice, and hate, that rise of demagoguery, which marked the contests of the middle of the nineteenth century. The efforts of men of statesmanlike potential, who sought to arrest this tendency by cultivating the art of accommodation, were vain. Calhoun, Clay, Crittenden, and Webster failed, and a devastating social war resulted.

John J. Crittenden, the last of those gifted in the craft of accommodation, has

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long awaited a biographer. His daughter published his life in 1871, but it was largely a series of copious quotations from his correspondence and his speeches. In the meantime his voluminous papers, accumulated over half a century of active public life, had been divided and in part lost sight of. For a long time a collection in the Library of Congress, much used by scholars, appeared to be all that had survived, but in recent years other significant sections, in one way or another, have been restored to the public domain. The University of Kentucky, the Filson Club, and the State Historical Society located in Crittenden's home state became centers of mobilization and research. Under the leadership of Clark and his associates at the University of Kentucky the ground broken by Coulter has been industriously and effectively tilled. Dean Kirwan undertook his study at the psychological time, the time when the returns were in.

Crittenden's career reached from the War of 1812 into the Civil War and was lived in about equal parts in the sensitive area of border Kentucky and the feverish national capital. To treat a career as long as Crittenden's without resorting to the "life and times" technique and to compass the whole within a single volume of less than five hundred pages have been formidable problems. They have been solved not by literary art nor by any peculiarly adroit synthesis but by a chronological episodic progression that has created an image remarkably accurate. The many complex situations in which Crittenden was involved are frequently deftly suggested rather than elaborately explained. The complexity of Kentucky politics and the sectional rivalry from 1824 to 1863 are treated in this way in a reasonably successful fashion, although the compactness of the narrative, upon occasion, leaves the reader without certain essential information as in the treatment of the proposed Lecompton Constitution in Kansas and in Congress. While this compression may mar a complete understanding of the "times," it detracts little, if any, from the "life."

The author has been the first to exploit the whole corpus of the scattered Crittenden material, and his portrait of the man can be called definitive. He has divided his career into three sections: those years in which Crittenden was Clay's lieutenant, the period in which he was trying to keep the Whig party in effective operation, and the final heartbreaking effort at sectional accommodation. Crittenden suffered from his loyalty to Clay, for that statesman took so long to die. When he at length came into his own, he was nearly seventy, and there was little left of him or his party. Also the time for accommodation, the specialty he had learned from Clay, was past. He had no party to make him President, and the sectional bitterness was beyond compromise. He could only fail. He was a man of talent, generally content with second place, who never was to enter the front rank in Rome though he was admittedly one of the leaders in his Iberian villages amidst the Bluegrass.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

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THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION: CRUSADES AND CONTROVERSIES, 1897–1913. By *Elmo R. Richardson.* [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXX.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 207. $4.00.)

In a representative democracy, politics, including public administration, is a great catalyst, possibly the only one, transferring ideas and ideals into public policy. If this needs proving, Elmo Richardson has given us ample evidence in *The Politics of Conservation.*

Richardson has examined and reports on conservation as "the epitome of the Progressive Era." His development is based largely upon evidence that has lain in "archives and historical societies of the states west of the Rocky Mountains." His purpose clearly stated is to examine "the specific theme of conservation as a political issue." The new perspective that he brings shows, among other things, that the West is not a monolith but actually an imperial vastness, parts of which differ from each other as the whole West does from the nation east of the Rockies.

Conservation, defined by the context as public administration of publicly owned natural resources, relies upon "technical planning and administration." By its very nature, conservation is a management rather than a policy function in government or in business. At the turn of the twentieth century there was minimal express legislative mandate for such administration and technical planning. Richardson outlines the skillful political maneuverings of the small coterie of dedicated conservationists led by Gifford Pinchot, ably assisted by President Theodore Roosevelt, who turned "an idealistic theory shared by a few men . . . into a pragmatic policy of government that changed the course of the country's economic development."

Its success rested in large measure upon the willingness of Presidents to withdraw, sometimes with and sometimes without the express authority of law, millions of acres of public lands from the operation of the public land laws. These, of course, contemplated their transfer from federal ownership. Needless to report, such wholesale withdrawals aroused thousands of citizens who felt they had a right to appropriate public land at a time and place of their own choosing. As seems inevitable in a democracy, this controversy moved from the dull plane of constitutionality and public policy to the exciting one of personality.

Richardson's appraisal of the Pinchot-Ballinger affair is skillful and judicious. His historiographical note, although brief, is as important a contribution as he makes. In brief, Richardson, like the congressional committee that investigated the issue, clears Ballinger of any wrongdoing in his administration of the Department of the Interior. He cites Ballinger's record of excellent administration of the General Land Office, of which he was commissioner for a time under Theodore Roosevelt, and the support of such conservationists as the chief of the Geological Survey. Pinchot is shown as a gifted, zealous, dedicated, aggressive forestry

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chief, willing and able to drive from public life another man whom he and his circle came to distrust. Richardson takes pains to note, however, that many of the misgivings that these men came to have about Ballinger were not recorded in their private communications at the time of the incidents. He accepts Ballinger's own interpretation that he was a conservationist who differed from the Pinchot brand by his belief that more explicit authorization from Congress was needed. Ballinger also espoused what may have been the real heresy, that the states and private enterprise could effect conservation as well as the national government.

Richardson's blow-by-blow account of the controversies as public land convention succeeded public land convention and the partisan response to them obscures the sharp focus promised in his excellent preface. The continuity falters in places. Several references, as to Ballinger's dissatisfactions with his successor, Walter Fisher, are in such context that their discussion seems anticlimactic. This, together with some minor inaccuracies, leads to speculation about the sufficiency of its editorial review.

Richardson closes his account with 1913 and this judgment: "The workings of politics thus removed the traditional obstacles of provincialism and partisanship. The desirability of Federal conservation was no longer an issue." One would not be wise to conclude from this, however, that there have not been some very sharp rear-guard actions. And there may be more. Other books on this heady mixture of conservation and politics are in order.

Bureau of Land Management JERRY A. O'CALLAGHAN

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FIRST HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE. By *Calvin DeArmond Davis*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1962. Pp. xii, 236. $5.00.)

MR. Davis has helpfully, and sometimes entertainingly, filled in the details of a familiar episode in nineteenth-century diplomatic history. In this Beveridge Award book of 1961 he retells the story of the First Hague Conference from its inception in the Tsar's rescript of August 24, 1898, to President McKinley's appointment of the first American judges to the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The most interesting feature of the new analysis is the portrayal, largely from personal papers, of the character and activities of the secretary of the American delegation, George Frederick William Holls.

An American of German parentage, an international lawyer and scholar of reputation, Holls was keenly ambitious for a diplomatic career and saw a possible road to it through participation in the conference. Through what his good friend, Andrew D. White, described as his "pushing ways," and the good offices of another friend, Assistant Secretary of State David Jayne Hill, he got himself named secretary (not, as he desired, secretary and counsel) of the American

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delegation. So persistent was he in his efforts to influence the make-up of the delegation and the instructions to it, that McKinley remarked to Secretary John Hay, upon making the appointment: "At least we will get him out of the country for a while." At the conference, Holls's officiousness antagonized several of his colleagues, including Captain A. T. Mahan. It seems clear, however, that he served the delegation well, especially in helping to secure adoption of the convention providing for the Permanent Court of Arbitration, but his claim that it was primarily his persuasiveness, during a hurried visit to Berlin, that induced Germany to accept the court is shown to have been exaggerated. After the court convention had been ratified, Holls took it upon himself to visit Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, where he was received by the two Emperors and the Tsar. Having hoped, perhaps, that he would be named one of the American judges on the court panel, he had the satisfaction of being appointed instead by both the King of Siam and the Shah of Persia. Regrettably, a heart attack ended his life two years thereafter.

Holls supplies most of the color and drama in the narrative, but the monograph as a whole is a workmanlike account of the American role in the conference. The obstructionism of the naval and military members of the delegation, especially Mahan, is well brought out, as are the quick retreat of the delegation from its initial idea of a court with compulsory jurisdiction and what seems today its foolishly exaggerated concern for the Monroe Doctrine. Davis' appraisal of the conference is close to that generally accepted. It was, he thinks, "essentially a failure."

Williamsville, New York JULIUS W. PRATT

TEAPOT DOME: OIL AND POLITICS IN THE 1920's. By *Burl Noggle*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 234. $6.00.)

SERIOUS misconceptions have come to exist about Teapot Dome, and this book should help greatly in correcting them. John Ise's *United States Oil Policy* (1926) was a pioneering attempt to see the leasing scandals in a meaningful framework. It considered the questionable leases in relation to public land policy and the petroleum industry over a period of many years. Now Professor Noggle has, in some respects, brought the subject up to date by focusing on Teapot Dome, politics, and personalities in the 1920's. Among his personalities are conservation leaders such as Robert M. La Follette, Gifford Pinchot, and Harry Slattery. The main weakness of the book is its brevity. For Teapot Dome, seen in relation to conservation policy and the "times," is a vast subject.

Most admirable is the author's judicious use of manuscripts and a wide array of sources, many of which were not available until recently. He is fair to all persons, but some will conclude that he is overly considerate of Secretary Albert

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B. Fall, as in the following passage: "Whether he deserved the guilt that the public and the courts assigned him, whether indeed he was simply a scapegoat for the entire [Harding] administration, is an insoluble question. . . ." The main conclusion of the book seems to be that the "crux of Teapot Dome's history lay in the 1924 election," and that, in that election, the scandal "was as embarrassing to some Democrats as it was to some Republicans. . . ." There is an excellent section on William G. McAdoo and his presidential ambitions, frustrated in 1924 largely because the scandal had touched him. In my opinion, the most interesting part of the study, and perhaps the most original, is in the last two chapters: "Interlude" (1924 to 1928) and "The Residue of Teapot Dome."

Some features of the book are excellent; others are disappointing. Pictures and cartoons are well chosen; footnotes often are chock-full of information; the bibliographical note is really a good, critical essay. The most serious weakness is the omission of facts and incidents that seem thoroughly relevant to any evaluation of Teapot Dome. Secretary Fall is the key figure, but his actions in 1921–1923 are not traced in detail. The book's usefulness would be enhanced if the index were based less upon names and more upon subjects and issues. Such criticisms aside, this study will be indispensable for an understanding of Teapot Dome and for politics of the 1920's.

University of Illinois J. Leonard Bates

ROOSEVELT AND HOWE. By *Alfred B. Rollins, Jr.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. xii, 479, xviii. $5.95.)

Louis McHenry Howe, the wizened, messy, asthmatic little "medieval gnome" of the early New Deal, is an intriguing character about whom it has long been the delight of journalists, politicians, and historians to speculate. It has been common knowledge that he threw in his lot with Franklin D. Roosevelt while he was an Albany correspondent and FDR was a state senator, and he remained a trusted and loyal subordinate for a quarter of a century. Frank Freidel was able to piece together much of the Howe story in the three volumes of his *Franklin D. Roosevelt* published to date, but still gaps remained (especially on Howe's pre-Roosevelt period), and questions persisted. Lela Stiles's *The Man behind Roosevelt* (1954), a lively reminiscence by a devoted secretary, was less a biography than grist for a biographer's mill.

When he joined Roosevelt, Howe was forty-one, a cynical, shrewd, sickly, unlucky newspaperman who had been born in Indiana and grew to manhood at Saratoga Springs. He had recently been a sort of political manager for the reformer Thomas Mott Osborne. Howe needed a break, and Rollins makes it clear that Roosevelt needed a devoted friend just when Howe happened along. Howe's chief contribution was, of course, his energetic detail work to further the political

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fortunes of his chief. He was also a confirmed naysayer (but one who "went along" after a decision was made), and something of a court jester, fond of amateur theatricals and corny doggerel. The election of 1932 was the high point of Howe's life. Although FDR appointed him "Secretary to the President," Howe's failing health and inability to master intricacies of high policy kept him from being a truly important influence in the early New Deal. His death in April 1936 came after a prolonged illness and after his real influence had long since disappeared.

Rollins spent over a decade in diligent pursuit of the rather elusive Howe, in an effort to find the facts about his subject and to determine the real nature of the relationship between Howe and Roosevelt. Rollins based his operations in the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, but ranged widely to turn up people for interview and to find fresh manuscript materials. Two collections still in private hands, the Howe "Personal Papers" owned by the Howe children, and the Osborne Papers at Auburn, New York, yielded an especially rich documentation. The result is a major addition to the scholarly literature about Roosevelt, as well as a richly detailed account of the relations between two vivid, and spectacularly contrasting, characters. Rollins, in spite of his years of commitment to this study, shows no tendency to overrate Howe in the field of policy making: "Howe had too much personal devotion to be a Joe Tumulty or a Sherman Adams, too little interest in public policy to be a Colonel House or a Harry Hopkins. His relationship with F.D.R. came close to being a unique phenomenon of American politics."

The principal criticism one can make of Rollins' book is probably an unfair one. Even though Howe's importance to history comes from his relationship with Roosevelt, he is surely worth a scholarly biography of his own. In this book, Rollins' sense of proportion forces him to give much space to already known data on FDR. Rollins' writing is clear, his tone is dispassionate, and his knowledge of the workings of practical politics is full and rich. The publisher has given this absorbing and important work an elegant format and has continued his much-appreciated policy of putting footnotes where they belong.

University of Washington ROBERT E. BURKE

THE GOLDEN AGE OF BRAZIL, 1695–1750: GROWING PAINS OF A COLONIAL SOCIETY. By *C. R. Boxer.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press in cooperation with the Sociedade de Estudos Históricos Dom Pedro Segundo, Rio de Janeiro. 1962. Pp. xiii, 443. $8.50.)

THIS, Professor Boxer's third monograph on colonial Brazil, produced under the auspices of the *Sociedade de Estudos Históricos Dom Pedro Segundo* and

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the *Diarios Associados,* is based on wide archival research in Brazil, scarce printed collections of source materials, rare contemporary works, and standard monographs and articles in scholarly periodicals. Previous research in Portugal, Africa, and Brazil and supplemental material in the British Museum and the Public Record Office buttressed his findings. With his *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686,* and the intensive investigation of three decades of the same period in his *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624–1654,* Boxer has now covered the heart of Brazilian colonial history.

The study begins at a time when the Empire was in the grip of a prolonged economic crisis. It ends with the death of João V in 1750 when, by the Treaty of Madrid, Brazil attained what subsequently proved to be its present boundaries. By the latter date Brazil weighed more heavily in the balance than Portugal, and the foundations of independence had been laid, for "the larger and richer will not" in the long run "consent to be ruled by the smaller and poorer."

The introductory chapter sets the stage by presenting the interdependence of the Portugal-Brazil-Africa triangle of the late seventeenth century. Thereafter the approach is regional. Chapters II and III focus on the gold rush and the opening of the mining area. Chapter IV is concerned with the French seizure of Rio. Chapter V moves to the planters and peddlers of Pernambuco and Chapter VI to the saints and sinners of Bahia. Chapters VII and VIII return to the mining area of the Rich Town of Black Gold and the Diamond District; Chapter IX concentrates on the backlands of Bahia, Piauí, and Rio Grande do Sul, and Chapter X, on the westward movement of the frontier. Chapter XI ends the regional approach with a discussion of missionaries and settlers in Amazonia. The text concludes with a synthesis that both summarizes the book and surveys the Empire in 1750.

The volume is not a narrative history. It is, rather, a sociological and economic study that focuses on individuals: the great and the small, master and slave, saint and sinner, the governing and the governed, in town, plantation, and ranch, on the coastal plain and in the backlands, with an interest in what these individuals ate and drank, how they dressed, the houses in which they lived and the churches in which they worshipped, in the products of their labors, in the pleasures and hardships of the settled areas and the rude backlands, and in debts and riches, justice and corruption, laws, taxes, oppression, revolt, morality, and miscegenation. The result is an authoritative, dynamic portrayal, redolent of the times.

The final hundred pages are devoted to an appendix containing data on commodity prices, crown revenue, quint and capitation taxes, slave matriculation, contracts and tolls, cargoes of the Brazil fleets, Portuguese money, weights and measures, and chronological tables, a personalia chapter, a glossary, footnotes, and a descriptive bibliography.

Duke University ALAN K. MANCHESTER

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EL HEROE NIÑO DE LA INDEPENDENCIA: PEDRO ACEVEDO TEJADA. By *Mario Germán Romero*. Foreword by *Bernardo J. Caycedo*. [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, Volume CII.] (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1962. Pp. 226.)

DOS VIDAS NO EJEMPLARES: PEDRO FERMÍN DE VARGAS; MANUEL MALLO. By *Alberto Miramón*. [Academía Colombiana de Historia, Biblioteca Eduardo Santos, Volume XXIV.] (Bogotá: Publicaciones Editoriales. 1962. Pp. 268.)

LOS ALMEYDAS: EPISODIOS DE LA RESISTENCIA PATRIOTA CONTRA EL EJÉRCITO PACIFICADOR DE TIERRA FIRME. By *Oswaldo Díaz Díaz*. [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, Volume XCIX.] (Bogotá: Editorial A B C. 1962. Pp. xv, 318.)

THESE three books have much in common although the training and personalities of the authors are different. They are neither very good nor defective studies dealing with limited subjects and adding little to general knowledge, though a good case can be made for the Díaz Díaz book. While they are welcome additions to the history of the war of independence in northern South America, they are not important. The books are biographical, and they sketch the lives of five secondary personalities. Such personalities are indeed the lifeblood of history, and to concentrate only on important persons (and events) is to build an edifice on strong foundations but without doors and walls.

Romero's book deals with a conscientious army officer, Pedro Acevedo Tejada (1799–1827), who joined the Colombian patriotic cause at the age of eleven and died as a colonel at the age of twenty-eight. The documentation was taken from a private archive and adds interesting information of a minor nature to the war of independence in this region and the dissolution of greater Colombia as constituted by Bolívar. Written with love and dedication, the book lacks critical scholarship.

In a similar book, Miramón discusses the lives of two rascals. Pedro Fermín de Vargas (1762–1812?) of Colombia, classified as a precursor of independence, was a small Miranda, whom he knew and admired. Also a world traveler (adventurer) and a Don Juan, he apparently was assassinated in New York. Manuel Mallo (1771–1838), born in Popayán, Colombia, moved as a child to Venezuela, and in 1788 went to Madrid where he became a member of the corrupt Spanish court and a lover of the voluptuous Queen María Luisa. For the rest of his life he was part of the palace intrigues, his fortunes going up and down but ending ingloriously. The life of Fermín de Vargas might have had some significance, but there is little in that of Manuel Mallo. The most interesting vignette covers the meeting of young Bolívar and María Luisa at Mallo's apartment in 1799.

Díaz Díaz' book, unquestionably the best of the three, is well written and based on new and careful primary documentation. The Alymedas brothers (Am-

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brosio and Vicente) were extremely rich landed *criollos* in Colombia. They joined the early struggle for independence and became colorful and effective guerrilla leaders after the Spanish reoccupation, by Morillo and others, in 1816–1817. They fought bravely during the occupation until the Bolivarian forces again liberated Colombia in 1819. As early as 1813 Ambrosio had a dispute with the then little-known General Bolívar. A man with a long memory, Bolívar did not forget the 1813 incident. The Alymedas, with their distinguished war records, were pushed aside to become private citizens. The guerrilla campaign is outlined most vividly. The lack of good maps, the long quotations from documents, and the uncritical approach are shortcomings.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

MEXICO: REVOLUTION TO EVOLUTION, 1940–1960. By *Howard F. Cline*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 375. $6.75.)

DR. Howard F. Cline in this volume brings his earlier study (*The United States and Mexico*) up to date. For readers unacquainted with Mexican history, the author provides an introduction of about 150 pages and then launches into his study of the period from 1940 to 1960. The reader is at once impressed by the amazing array of statistics presented. These deal with practically all phases of Mexican life: the rapid broadening of the democratic process, the political constants that have to be taken into consideration in a country like Mexico, the rise and influence of education, agrarianism, and industrial development. Finally, there is an analysis of the foreign relations of Mexico, which emphasizes the nation's leadership among Latin American republics owing to its emergence into its own peculiar but successful brand of democracy. By 1960, possessed of power and initiative, it occupied a position demanding the respect and consideration of both New and Old World nations.

Unable to accommodate all his statistics in the narrative, the author has added an appendix of some twenty pages, and further provides a fifteen-page bibliography, appropriately classifying titles for the use of later students.

Cline is definitely optimistic about Mexico and its prospects though he recognizes its geographical and other natural handicaps in comparisons of soil and climatic (especially rainfall) conditions as compared with the United States, Argentina, Australia, and Europe. Further, his study of the population shows the astonishingly small amount of immigration and the widespread linguistic handicaps of the varied Indian peoples even to the present day. In spite of these difficulties he emphasizes the striking development arising from one of the highest population increases in the world, coupled with rapid industrial expansion and urban development. To be specific, a population increase of some 3 per cent per year

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has actually been more than matched by a growth of the gross national product of nearly 4 per cent per year. The foreign investor lost heavily in the readjustments from 1910 to 1940 and was left with a well-founded suspicion of all Mexican ventures. In spite of this skepticism, the foreigner was so reassured that in the decade following 1940 he trebled his investments in Mexico, and then doubled them again from 1950 to 1958.

Yes, here in a small volume that almost staggers by its sheer quantity of facts is an optimistic report on the last twenty years of Mexican life. It is a volume that calls for more than a mere reading; it is worthy of study.

University of South Carolina W. H. Callcott

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

BOOKS

General

INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY: CONFUCIUS TO TOYNBEE. By *Alban G. Widgery*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1961. Pp. 260. $5.50.) Philosophy of history exerts a powerful attraction upon philosophers of religion. Widgery, one of the most venerable and erudite of religious philosophers, has yielded a book to that attraction which he admits to have felt strongly for forty years. In it he offers some historically relevant gleanings out of "a great part of a long life" devoted to philosophical investigation of religious thought and religious experience. But even as he moves into philosophy of history, he does not leave philosophy of religion. The thinkers selected and the elements of their thought emphasized in his discussion are those of particular interest to the scholar whose subject area is religion in history or history in religion, rather than history as such. Of the more than 150 figures dealt with in the book's 260 pages, hardly a fourth are identifiable as historians. The rest are philosophers, theologians, and religious thinkers. Among the historians discussed, those with an interest in philosophy of religion are accorded greater coverage. Beard, who had an interpretation of history of some significance, has but eight lines of text, while Guizot's religious view of civilization receives something over a hundred. The organizational scheme of the book is also drawn from philosophy of religion. Thus, in the words of the publishers, Part One, "General Conceptions of History—Oriental and Occidental," describes "the conceptions of history implied in wide-spread religions and cultures, Confucian and Taoist, Hindu and Buddhist, Zoroastrian and Muslim, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian." Part Two, "Particular Theories of History—Occidental," utilizes a tripartite classification into naturalist, absolute idealist, and personal theist conceptions, which Widgery has utilized before in works of religious philosophy. In part this classification scheme is manifested in chapter headings. But in even greater measure it constitutes not merely an organizational principle, but an evaluative one that runs through most chapters, if not through all. Despite a profession in the preface that his "exposition is only incidentally critical"—he promises to present his own conclusions in a later volume—he has been unable to conceal his dislike for the first two of his categories, a dislike that he proclaimed ten years ago in *What Is Religion?* Historians are likely to find this book a useful, though cursory, survey of a rather large number of significant interpretations of history. They may well be disturbed by the lack of historical objectivity that results from an organizational scheme based upon evaluative criteria. Of greater concern is the artificiality of that scheme which, by distracting the scholar into critical evaluation, tempts him to do violence to the developing historical individualities that constitute the real configuration of the historical world.

University of Oregon LLOYD R. SORENSON

POUR UNE HISTOIRE *À PART ENTIÈRE*. By *Lucien Febvre*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1962. Pp. 859.) This third volume of "Combats pour l'Histoire" completes the compiled

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articles and reviews of a devoted historian and a great teacher. His greatness as a historian rests solidly on other works. Here his work as critic and historian of *bons sens* permits the reader to do two things: he may review over thirty years of continental historiographical developments as interpreted and evaluated by one of the founders of the current school of French history, or he may look for a perceptive, tolerant, and judicious scholar exhorting others to be daring in their methods, while conveying that he knew how difficult such a task was himself. As a reviewer, the cofounder of *Annales* combined the old school's emphasis on organization, clarity of expression, and repugnance for jargon with a passionate desire to experiment. Febvre planned this work himself; its organizational progression from geography, economy, society, technology, ideas, and "sentiments" presents his final commitment to a monumental program for the writing of history. His determinism was tempered by *bon sens;* at every turn Febvre stressed the need for seeing the whole, and for never losing sight of man in any structure imposed by historians on the past. So much is wholesome in Febvre. There was no national bias though he was in every way a Frenchman; there was no parochialism about other disciplines or systematic rejection of traditional history. He held up Michelet as a model while asking historians to seek new sources and use statistics. With the exception, perhaps, of his views on popular revolts in the sixteenth century, Febvre's work remains as fresh and pertinent today as it was suggestive and inspirational to young historians over the last fifty years.

Columbia University Orest Ranum

GRUNDLAGEN DES GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHTS. By *Ernst Wilmanns.* (New ed.; Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1962. Pp. 188. DM 13.80.) This volume is the revision of the earlier work of the late Ernst Wilmanns, *History Instruction—Foundations of Its Methodology* (1949). The author worked on the revision of the manuscript until his death in 1960. Now it appears in book form, basically as he left it, with the cooperation of his daughter, Gerda Wilmanns. This is not a handbook of various classroom teaching methods. The seven chapter headings are: "The Theoretical Principles of History," "The Learning of History," "The Teaching of History," "Instruction Conditioned by Youth Psychology," "Introduction to the Use of Historical Terms," "The Objectives of History Instruction," and "The Selection of Historical Content." In this last chapter, the author suggests the advisability of having the courage of omission. The treatise tends relatively more toward the theoretical and the philosophical bases than the science of instruction in history. It has much to do with such concepts as the nature of history, historical integration, and historical facts as actualities or mental constructions. It envisages the three outcomes of history instruction as the development of ethical consciousness, as the cultivation of a sense of responsibility, and as the development of the pupil personality. The author would have history related to the daily life of the pupils. He recognizes the principle of continuity and believes that the past lives on in the present and in the future. Yet he warns against viewing history as an accumulation of examples of parallels between the past and the happenings and tasks of the present, and likewise against attempting to draw moralizing lessons from history. In the newly added seventh chapter in this revised edition, Wilmanns presents a critical appraisal of the current trend in the German schools toward "exemplarischer" or "paradigmatischer" history instruction. It is a trend toward the vertical organization of subject matter content around themes, toward type or illustrative area studies, toward unitary organization, toward what is referred to in pedagogical literature as the "unit method" of teaching.

Haile Sellassie I University Robert La Follette

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A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. By *James Parkes.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1962. Pp. viii, 9–254. $5.00.) "The fascination of Jewish history," writes the author in one of his chapters, "is the successive or simultaneous encounters of the Jewish people with different non-Jewish societies." It is this preoccupation with "encounters" that is the central motif of Dr. Parkes's volume. His most original analysis of the interaction of cultures is to be found in his discussion of medieval anti-Semitism. What was "abnormal" about early Judaeophobia, Parkes makes clear, was its emergence not from contemporary issues, but rather from the Christian version of their own past history in the Bible. Were they true Christians or renegade Jews, they wondered. Both peoples, after all, claimed the promises contained in the same book. Neither people was able to avoid contact with the other, or the other's claims. Conversely, Moslem toleration of the Jews was based largely upon the wider gulf between Islam and Judaism. Here, each people was in fact capable of ignoring the other. These occasional insights, summarized from the author's earlier and valuable studies on anti-Semitism, are unhappily not matched in the later chapters of this book. He offers no evaluation of the economic factors responsible for Jewish emancipation, nor of the cultural factors that influenced the birth of Jewish nationalism, nor of the peculiar and unique relationship between the Jews and Nazi Pan-Germanism. Near Eastern diplomacy is not so much as mentioned in his discussion on Palestine, nor the impact of European culture on modern Jewish thought. The author's emphasis upon "encounters" has, moreover, severely limited the book's value either as narrative or interpretive history. One wonders, indeed, if this slim essay is really intended as a volume of history at all. There is no discussion whatever of the origins of the Hebrews, of Moses, of Sinai, of the Bible, of the Prophets. The Talmud, that monumental corpus of law and lore which dominated Jewish life for seven centuries, rates a page and a half in Parkes's book (he devotes four pages to the problem of usury, and eleven pages to the wanderings of the Marranos). The author has in fact chosen to ignore altogether the raw material of orthodox historiography; there are no biographies in the volume, no quotations, perhaps twenty to thirty listed dates, a bibliography totaling fifty entries—all but two in English. In view of these curious omissions, one wonders if the author entertained a specialized purpose outside the framework of popular scholarship. If he did, his introduction is silent on this point.

Brandeis University HOWARD M. SACHAR

THE GROWTH OF MEDICAL THOUGHT. By *Lester S. King.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1963. Pp. xi, 254. $5.50.) Possibly because the practice of medicine has always contained a large empirical element, the more reflective doctors throughout history have been deeply concerned with developing a rationale, that is, seeking to create order out of a mass of observations. Lester S. King, a pathologist who combines a taste for philosophy and history with an exceedingly facile pen, is well qualified to discuss intellectual developments in medicine. In his last book, on eighteenth-century medicine, King demonstrated that he was a master of the informal chatty essay, a deceptively simple form of writing into which he manages to slip much information and many perceptive comments. *The Growth of Medical Thought* also consists of a group of essays, ranging from Greek medicine to what the author speaks of as present-day "molecular medicine." Rather than engulf his reader in details, King has selected key figures in the Greek, Roman, Renaissance, and modern periods and has shown how these individuals both modified and reflected the thinking of their times. By analyzing their writings thoroughly and by considering their works in the light of accepted modes of thought and existing bodies of factual material, he has given us a picture of brilliant

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individuals whose ideas frequently may have been wrong but whose logic was almost unimpeachable. The one name that always stands out in Roman and medieval medicine is that of Galen. His writings conditioned medical thought for many centuries, and it was inevitable that when the skeptics of the Renaissance overthrew the accepted authorities, the works of Galen should fall into ill repute. Modern historical research has done much to restore Galen's tarnished glory, and King not only dispels the misconceptions about Galen, but brings the reader to a new appreciation for this remarkably able and intelligent medical thinker. Galen's assumption, for example, that the blood passed from the right ventricle of the heart to the left by means of invisible pores in the septum has been ridiculed in recent centuries. Yet, as the author points out, if we assume that the blood does not circulate, Galen's theory has much in its favor. In his final chapter King reflects upon modern medicine, pointing out that the present pattern of medical research, although more subtle, refined, and discriminating, still follows that of centuries past—observations lead to inferences, and from these arise new concepts which in time fall before new viewpoints and more acute observations in a never-ending spiral. Too frequently social and intellectual historians overlook the field of medicine and public health; King, who writes lucidly and with considerable grace, has done much to redress the balance.

University of Pittsburgh JOHN DUFFY

AMERICAN DOCTORS AND GERMAN UNIVERSITIES: A CHAPTER IN INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL RELATIONS, 1870–1914. By *Thomas Neville Bonner*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 210. $4.25.) Based on personal investigations abroad and in this country, this book presents a chapter in medical history which, though of special interest to physicians, is also highly relevant to the present status of American medicine and public health, and, therefore, to every citizen. The period covered by the volume is 1870–1914. The former date marks the practical start of the migration of American physicians to Germany for study; the latter, with the outbreak of World War I, marked the end of many eras, including that of European supremacy in medical education and practice. At the start of this period, and for several decades after, the state of American undergraduate medical education was most unsatisfactory. A modicum of "practical" training was given, but laboratory facilities were poor, and interest in research at any level was almost nonexistent. American physicians found a truly scientific atmosphere in the German (Austrian and Swiss as well) universities, with great teachers, a spirit of research, and excellent laboratories. Most of the physicians who loom large in the history of American medical education had German nongraduate training and brought back to the medical schools, such as Johns Hopkins, the ideals that they had learned abroad. Although Abraham Flexner, whose report in 1910 revolutionized medical education in America, had not had foreign training, he was a great admirer of the German system. In six well-written chapters ("Prologue," "The German Magnet," "Vienna, Berlin and the Clinical Specialties," "German Universities and the Basic Medical Sciences in America," "The Tide Begins to Turn—German Doctors in America before 1914," "Epilogue") Bonner gives a most interesting and informative account. He has made a valuable contribution to modern history.

Washington, D. C. WINFRED OVERHOLSER

JOURNEY TO FRANCE AND SPAIN, 1801. By *Victor Marie du Pont*. Edited by *Charles W. David*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1961. Pp. xxvi, 144. $3.50.) This elegantly presented little volume marks at the same time the formal opening of

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the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library in its new quarters and the retirement of its director, Dr. Charles W. David, who devoted several years to its organization. It is a sampling of the rich material dealing with the Du Pont de Nemours family preserved in the library and now accessible to historians. It consists essentially of the account of the business trip undertaken to France and Spain in the interest of the new firm by Victor du Pont, the elder son of the old physiocrat. Victor's main purpose was to re-establish connections in France with the men then in power, from Bonaparte and Talleyrand to financiers and merchants. He was a keen observer and presented in his diary a very vivid picture of life in Paris at the opening of the new century. As he traveled on horseback on his way to Spain, he established contacts with the rich merchants of the provinces who had formerly done business with America. He drew an unflattering picture of Spain, resorting to energetic and even crude words that formed an interesting contrast to the romantic image of Spain that inspired the following generation. The diary is also an important document on the process of the Americanization of a cultured immigrant. Born and educated in France, Victor had represented the French government in America for a number of years. Though he had not yet been naturalized, he did not hesitate to proclaim "the Superiority of young flourishing America over old decayed France." The footnotes and the introduction will probably prove of more interest to the historian than the diary itself. The editor has poured into the notes an extraordinary wealth of documentation almost unobtainable elsewhere, thus making this apparently unpretentious book an important work of reference on social conditions in France and business connections between France and the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Princeton, New Jersey GILBERT CHINARD

FROM CHARITY TO SOCIAL WORK IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Kathleen Woodroofe*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 247. $5.00.) The fact of mutual exchange of social welfare ideas and experience between England and the United States has long been recognized, but it remained for an Australian scholar and a Canadian publisher to present a broad-scale analysis of it in the context of the creation of a new profession. The writing is sprightly, as where the author comments that English creativity in casework "has been carried on in monastic silence" and that "social group work, with the brisk intemperance of youth, set out on its struggle to capture professional status." The summarizing passages repeatedly open vistas of understanding. Occasionally one wishes there were more recognition of some factors at work, for example, traditional constitutional interpretations and the necessity of judicial review as they influenced the drafting of the Social Security Act, or that there were less acceptance at face value of criticisms of their forebears made by evangelistic social workers, for example, harsh treatment of Dr. Benjamin Rush and Dr. C. Irving Fisher as an introduction to consideration of Freud. The aggravating thing about this stimulating book is, however, the frequent, unnecessary disregard of historical detail. Some of this may come from careless proofreading, but there is a casualness about the relationship of dates that is disconcerting. The founding of the Boston social service exchange in 1876, for example, is attributed to Joseph Tuckerman, who died in 1840. On page 160, five footnotes to one sentence purport to illustrate contrasting attitudes toward public welfare prevalent in the early 1930's. Two citations on one side are from 1934 and 1931 respectively, while the three on the other side are from 1902, 1911, and 1903. Illustrations of the older ideas could have been found in the later period. Why not use them? The book will be useful for its breadth of view, rather than its treatment of detail.

Washington University RALPH E. PUMPHREY

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BRITAIN AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA. By *Saul Rose*. [Britain in the World Today.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1962. Pp. 208. $5.00.) In this book Saul Rose sketches the background of Britain's role in Southeast Asia and surveys contemporary British interests there. A third of the book is historical—perhaps too briefly done. Historians must turn elsewhere for information and interpretation, especially because Rose has not based his study on manuscripts and records, such as those at the India Office Library. He has no footnotes, and his bibliography of secondary works is insufficient. The historical section suffers from the neglect to use manuscripts. His treatment of the first two Anglo-Burmese wars and the problems of territorial acquisitions would be considerably improved through reference to India Office Library collections. Similarly, Gladstone's relations with the British North Borneo Company deserved to be interpreted in the light of the Gladstone papers at the British Museum. In dealing with Britain's contemporary relations with Southeast Asia, Rose seems on surer ground. His pages are full of statistics about trade and investment, population and education, and the like. But it would be helpful to students if he cited the sources of his statistics. The trouble here, once again, is superficiality. One feels that Rose is explaining the "standard version" of official British policy, slightly "revised." He has an overriding fascination with military strategy and geopolitics. One is left bewildered with the generalization that the global struggle of the world "hinges" on the survival of India, which in turn depends on the survival of independent states in Southeast Asia. Have we not outgrown Mackinder and Haushofer in such generalizations? On the other hand, Rose has not adequately related Britain's cultural connections with the region. He neglects the impact of many associations and persons on developments in Southeast Asia, though these are probably more important than the political strategy of Whitehall. The book is concise and readable, but somewhat unsatisfying in its scholarship and should serve only as an introduction to the subject.

Bowdoin College GEORGE D. BEARCE

THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: ITS IMPACT ON ASIA. By *Ivar Spector*. [Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1962. Pp. viii, 180. Cloth $3.95, paper $1.95.) The influence of Russia's abortive Revolution of 1905 on the Asian nations has not previously been studied by any Western scholars. Even in the USSR, only a few monographs investigated the repercussions of the early twentieth-century revolutionary events in Russia on some specific countries in Asia. Spector starts this study with a rather sketchy survey of the Revolution of 1905 and points to the activization of the political life among Russia's "Asian" national minorities, especially its Moslem peoples. Indeed, the participation of the Tartars and Azerbaijanis in the Russian political revival of 1904–1907 led to the growth of their national consciousness and development of their political organizations. These Moslem groups of Russia were traditionally connected with the religious and intellectual life of the Ottoman Empire, and, in the case of the Azerbaijanis, also of Persia. Therefore, when the Russian government in 1906 and 1907 curbed political agitation, a considerable number of them migrated to Turkey and Iran. They found there a receptive and often enthusiastic audience who eagerly learned from these *émigrés* the revolutionary tactics and philosophy of Russian Leftist parties. In Iran, an Azerbaijani leader named Rasul Zadeh and some of his revolutionary comrades became influential political leaders, playing an important role in the Iranian revolutionary disturbances of 1906–1907. Strangely enough, India also became a fertile ground for spreading the revolutionary methods developed in Russia. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the fathers of India's fight for independence, carefully studied Russian revolutionary tactics and partially applied them in India's struggle against England. In Turkey, some groups of Young Turks were considerably

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influenced by Tartar political philosophy, and the ideology of Pan-Turkism elaborated in 1900–1905 by some Tartar political leaders found an echo with the young nationalists in the Ottoman Empire. The chapter devoted to China is the least convincing. It may be concluded that not the specific ideas and tactics elaborated in Russia, but rather the Japanese victories of 1904 and 1905 and the possibility of a nation's fight against autocracy, produced some impression on Chinese intellectuals. Spector's work does not treat in detail or offer a penetrating analysis of the impact of the first Russian Revolution on any specific Asian countries. The size of this volume, one-third of which is devoted to the appendix, notes, and bibliography, points to its general introductory character.

Stetson University SERGE A. ZENKOVSKY

STALIN AND THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY, 1941–1947. By *Alfred J. Rieber*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 395. $7.50.) Professor Rieber has three main concerns in this case study for the years 1941–1947: the interaction between the policies of the Soviet Union and those of the French Communist party, the effectiveness of this party as a political force in France, and the basic strategy and tactics of Soviet foreign policy. He describes in detail the way in which the French Communist party won a strong position for itself in France through its role in the resistance and in the national reconstruction during the liberation period. At the same time he contends that the Soviet Union always subordinated the activities of the French Communist party to its own needs, first in its struggle against Germany, then against the Western Allies. Unfortunately Rieber deals satisfactorily with only two of his three main concerns. For at the end of his book he says rather lamely: "It is difficult to define the exact nature of the relationship between the French Communist Party and the Soviet leadership." The difficulty may lie in the sources rather than the author; he tells us as much as they tell him. But the official Communist accounts, both French and Russian, do not reveal the channels through which Soviet directives reached Paris. And the key men who could really enlighten him are either dead or unavailable for comment. His only "live" source on this whole question is a former Communist named Pierre Hervé. According to Hervé the general line laid down by *Izvestiia* and *Pravda* was a satisfactory guide to action. One cannot help suspecting that there was more to it than that. Regarding General de Gaulle's order disarming the resistance partisans in late 1944, even Rieber says: "Thorez may conceivably have brought instructions from Moscow to end the dispute over the militia." Stalin never counted very heavily on Communists outside the Soviet Union, and he apparently did not inform them in advance of the switch away from the "united front" line in 1939 and in 1947. This book does not tell us much about how he made foreign Communists toe a new line. It does tell us that the French Communists did so at great sacrifice to themselves. And it does this in a scholarly, readable narrative.

New York University EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

Ancient and Medieval

PROBLÈMES HISTORIQUES AUTOUR DE LA BATAILLE DES THERMOPYLES. By *Apostolos Dascalakis*. [École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants, Number 12.] (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1962. Pp. 204.) The Battle of Thermopylae presents a series of problems in itself and also for our understanding of the strategy of the Persian War

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on both sides. Herodotus was not a trained military observer, like Thucydides; nor did he belong to the generation that fought the war whose historian he was, yet his account is the only basis we have for reconstructing the momentous events of Xerxes' invasion. By the time he wrote, Thermopylae had already become a legend. There were no surviving witnesses of the last phase—unless it might be the members of the crew that carried the news of defeat to the Greek naval forces at Artemisium—and the Spartans were able to impose their own version of what happened in the light of Salamis and Plataea. Herodotus was in no position to distinguish fact from propaganda, but he was an honest writer who did not add distortions of his own. His own narrative, therefore, still betrays the conflicting prejudices of the sources on which he depended. Dascalakis rightly regards his account of Thermopylae as of Spartan manufacture, in contrast to Salamis and Plataea which show strong Athenian coloring. The most useful part of this monograph is in the four chapters on chronology and the timetable synchronizing events at Thermopylae and Artemisium. He dates Thermopylae within a very few days of the full moon of October 20, a date connected with the Carneian festival and with the seventy-fifth Olympic games referred to by Herodotus. The author brings the latest discoveries about Greek calendars to bear on the dating. He also cites the relevant data on eclipses as well as modern Greek meteorological information to explain the nature of the winds and storms that played a part in the naval results. Arriving at a tentative date in this way, he tests it by counting back from the solar eclipse of October 2 that caused Cleombrotus to withdraw from the isthmus after Salamis had been won. The author's interpretation of the strategy of the campaign is less original and also less convincing. He devotes an appendix to attacking the validity of the Themistocles decree, and understandably so, because to accept it would undermine his whole thesis. But Themistocles decree or no Themistocles decree, his view that Xerxes' army could have been stopped had Sparta lived up to its promises and sent more men to Thermopylae seems unrealistic and, in fact, untenable.

University of California, Los Angeles TRUESDELL S. BROWN

ARISTOTLE'S HISTORY OF ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY. By *James Day* and *Mortimer Chambers*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXIII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. xiii, 221. $5.00.) The constitutional history that opens Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* is a mixed bag. Together with much that is unimpeachable and invaluable, it contains both internal contradictions and egregious errors. For this, various reasons have been suggested, including the denial of Aristotelian authorship altogether. It is the thesis of the present authors that most, if not all, can be explained on the assumption that Aristotle's narrative is based on a preconception, a theory of the development of a democratic form of government through four stages, as described shortly before in Books IV–VI of the *Politics*, and as summed up in the eleven "changes" (forms) of Athenian government postulated in Chapter XLI of the *Constitution*. Aristotle was not a "professional historian," and he accepted or rejected, interpreted and supplemented his traditional material so as to put together an account that seemed to him reasonable. The authors' "main concern" is "to recover and examine *Aristotle's* ideas, even though these may not be historically accurate," but, to demonstrate how their predecessor went astray, they devote their Chapter VII to their own reconstruction of Attic constitutional history. There is no doubt that this narrative will seem more "reasonable" to the modern reader, although it is fully as subjective as that in the *Constitution*. We know very little about Athenian constitutional history and still reconstruct on the basis of our preconceptions, improved as they may have become with experience. This substantial, well-

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documented, and well-informed study is a valuable contribution to the literature on Athens. The authors are right to insist that the *Constitution* and the *Politics* must be read together, preferably in the light of Aristotle's other writings. Their specific thesis, however, rests on two dubious bases: that (according to Aristotle) democracy increased in a city as its size increased and that the four (or five) forms of the *Politics* may be identified with a like number of the *metabolai* of the *Constitution*. In particular, it is hard to see any similarity between the government of the Areopagus, 487–462 B.C., and Aristotle's "third democracy."

Yale University C. BRADFORD WELLES

THE REVOLUTIONS OF ANCIENT ROME. By *F. R. Cowell*. [The Great Revolutions.] (London: Thames and Hudson. 1962. Pp. 228. 21*s*.) This book is another entry on the relatively long list of accounts of Roman history written for popular consumption. Cowell's basic viewpoint is that the domestic political history of Rome from the beginning of the Republic to the settlement of Augustus amounts to a series of revolutions—a concept neither particularly new nor particularly illuminating. Most of the book is, nevertheless, devoted to the period 133 B.C.–A.D. 14 with a sketch of previous Roman history as a prologue and an epilogue lamenting the sterility of Roman history under the Empire, when revolutions cease, although Cowell partially contradicts himself when he admits that the victory of Christianity constitutes an important, albeit nonpolitical, revolution. More specifically, errors of fact, misinterpretations, and misunderstandings are strewn throughout. The knowledgeable reader is likely to be impressed by the antiquated interpretations expounded. The results of the patient research of scholars, published in recent monographs and articles, have left little mark. There are a few good things said about the Gracchi, but it is startling, for example, to read of Sulla as a promoter of liberty (undefined, hence presumably to be taken as currently understood). In a word, this is not a book to be placed in the hands of an unwary "general" reader, although its handsome gold and red cover will make it look impressive on shelf or table.

University of Chicago STEWART IRVIN OOST

LIBER ELIENSIS. Edited by *E. O. Blake*. [Camden Third Series, Volume XCII.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1962. Pp. lx, 463.) The great English monastery of Ely was founded in the seventh century, refounded in the tenth after the destructions of the Danes, and made into the see of a bishop at the beginning of the twelfth. This history of it was compiled later in the twelfth century to support the monks' claims to various liberties and estates. Though the book is obviously tendentious, scholars have long made use of it with appropriate reservations, and much of it has been printed in one place or another. But a critical edition was badly needed in order to establish its strengths and weaknesses, and this Dr. Blake has now most admirably supplied. In this edition the compiler emerges as a poor historian but a good copyist. Aside from his tendentiousness, his understanding of the events he was dealing with was not good, and where his sources cannot be determined, his account may not be trusted. But he copied at length from documents of the first importance, and where these copies can be checked he was careful and honest. The editor has provided a very full annotation and a good index of proper names.

University of Connecticut FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

THE MARTYRS OF CÓRDOBA (850–859): A STUDY OF THE SOURCES. By *Edward P. Colbert*. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, New Series, Volume XVII.] (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America

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Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 491. $7.75.) Some fifty Mozarabs in mid-ninth-century Córdoba died for vilifying Islam in provocatively public professions of Christianity. Was this "voluntary martyr movement" an outburst of Visigothic patriotism, the protest of a few fanatic Christians incited by vengeful clergy, a rebellion against tax harassment, a heroic and necessary defense of the faith, an episode in the religio-nationalist resistance? How did it relate to Moslem tolerance, Ommiad censorious orthodoxy, anticentralism, the wars in the north? Was it an insignificant interlude or a turning point in Spanish history, announcing the failure of Córdoba's biculturalism and stimulating the Reconquest? Generations of historians have inferred many answers, each according to his sympathies and in function of his erudition or expertise. *Martyrs,* another fine thesis of the Ziegler school, is something between at attempt to resolve the problem and an exposition of all the sources. Each polemical, literary, administrative, or biographical document is carefully examined and related to its author and circumstances. This resolves itself into an inquiry concerning the post-Visigothic community: its organization, status, history, heresies, intellectual milieu, and bitter intramural squabbles over the martyr movement. Challenging Dozy, the author concludes that it was a vigorous, intellectually alert, surprisingly independent, and organized group. It enjoyed a *modus vivendi* with, and presumably an influence upon, Córdoba Moslems. The contention that an objective situation adequately provoked the martyrs seems to me not fully proven. Further analysis and nuance seem needed, perhaps with more sympathy in assimilating elements from contrary views. The method of presentation, while fruitful, is inevitably disparate and sprawling. Rewarding points emerge with difficulty from the paraphrases, disquisitions, and shifts in subject. But the reader patiently persevering through the *longueurs* will become much informed; he will also be forearmed against unpromising lines of conjecture. One may always quarrel with minor defects, like the uncritical acceptance of the Peter Pascual tradition. The work as a whole is, however, exhaustive, erudite, and valuable.

University of San Francisco R. Ignatius Burns, S.J.

VOM ANTIKEN ZUM FRÜHMITTELALTERLICHEN STAATSBEGRIFF: ÜBER VERWENDUNG UND BEDEUTUNG VON RES PUBLICA, REGNUM, IMPERIUM UND STATUS VON CICERO BIS JORDANIS. By *Werner Suerbaum.* [Orbis Antiquus, Number 16/17.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1961. Pp. xxvii, 305. Cloth DM 26.50, paper DM 24.) Despite its title this is not a history of the idea of the state in later antiquity, but a history of the changing meanings of certain technical terms used in history and political theory—specifically, *res publica, regnum, imperium,* and *status.* Nor, even within these limits, does it pretend to be complete, but covers the meanings of these terms only as they appear in Cicero's *De republica,* the works of Tacitus, Tertullian's *Apologeticum,* Justin's *Epitoma,* the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* Augustine's *De civitate Dei,* Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos,* Cassiodorus' *Variae,* and the works of Ammianus Marcellinus and Jordanis, these being selected, according to the author, on the basis of their intrinsic or historical importance and the availability of word lists. Within these narrow limits the author has done his job carefully, and anyone utilizing these texts will profit from his philological analyses. The historian of political theory, however, will find questions raised rather than answered in these pages. He will see the connotation of *res publica,* for example, changing, but will not usually be told why. The terms are only briefly related to the general content of each author's political theory, while no attempt is made to fit the author and his vocabulary into any historical context. This is a good work of intensive lexicography and will render service as such.

Amherst College Fredric Cheyette

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THE LONG-HAIRED KINGS AND OTHER STUDIES IN FRANKISH HISTORY. By *J. M. Wallace-Hadrill.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1962. Pp. 261. $6.00.) This volume by Wallace-Hadrill dealing with the Merovingians represents a welcome addition to the literature concerning this vital and too-little-understood period in the development of Western European civilization. It consists of a long essay on Merovingian kingship, chronologically arranged, and a series of his recent articles on aspects of this early Frankish period that are gathered together here and so made more accessible to the scholar. Despite the diverse nature of the materials that make up this volume, it does form a coherent whole and thus provides us with an excellent summary of many aspects of Merovingian civilization. In general, Wallace-Hadrill emphasizes the Roman character of the Merovingians and their kingship and stresses their positive role as a bridge between the late Roman world and that of the later Carolingians. He rightly emphasizes, in doing so, their vitality and accomplishments, especially in the early seventh century, and makes it clear also that the later Merovingians, the *rois fainéants,* were not as decadent as some have assumed. Instead he shows how they form a link between the practices of their age and those of the later Carolingians. Especially to be recommended to those as yet unfamiliar with them are his chapters on the blood feud of the Merovingians and on the historian Fredegar. After completing this excellent volume, several questions still remain. Has not Wallace-Hadrill here underestimated the considerable differences that exist between the Merovingians and the Carolingians? Was the transition between these two ages quite as smooth as he implies? Does he not, in stressing the essentially Neustrian character of the Merovingians, underestimate the role of noble Roman families of Aquitaine and Provence in the functioning of Merovingian government and Church affairs down to the end of Dagobert's reign? Why did such families cease to participate in any significant way in the Merovingian courts of Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia after 650? This remains a vital and unanswered problem in our understanding of the late Merovingian period and that of the Carolingians.

University of Texas ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

SIDELIGHTS ON THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH. By *Margaret Deanesly.* (London: Adam and Charles Black; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. vii, 187. $4.00.) Miss Deanesly's little book deals with certain subjects that she felt needed more specialized treatment than was possible in her recent history of *The Pre-Conquest Church in England.* Like her earlier work, this volume combines her own original scholarship with old and new materials. The nine chapters include a wide variety of subjects, but fall into three main divisions. The first chapters describe early Christianity in Britain against the background of Greco-Roman civilization. They contain fascinating descriptions of new archaeological evidence for the change from paganism to Christianity, like the excavations at Lullingstone, and interesting information about the Welsh saints. The next three chapters are devoted to various aspects of the tenth-century reformation, including an analysis of English homilies, such as the Blickling ones and those of Aelfric and Wulfstan, and of Sacramentaries used in England. Rites for the consecration of bishops and the coronation of kings before and after Edgar and the art and architecture of the period are of particular interest in showing continental influence. Miss Deanesly's principal contribution comes in the last part of her book which deals with the administration of the English Church. Her chapter on bishops and pastoral care between Dunstan and the Confessor gives evidence of continued reform both in the election of monk bishops (up to the reign of Cnut) and in canons and ecclesiastical clauses of legal codes. This evidence tends to support the

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view of the old English Church expressed by Professor Darlington. On the basis of her own study of the archdeacons of Canterbury in the ninth century and the work of Levy, the author concludes that the principal influence upon the development of ecclesiastical administration was the Roman civil service and suggests that the title of dean is derived not from Lyndwood's group of ten but from the notarial usage of Roman law where it meant a messenger or go-between. This would accord with the quasi-judicial functions of rural deans of the thirteenth century. Her final chapter, which ends rather abruptly, is valuable, therefore, for it shows the growing complexity of administration and experiments in the delegation of authority in a period before the territorial subdivisions into archdeaconries and deaneries which did not occur in England until after the Conquest. Although there are one or two obvious inaccuracies, the book is a careful piece of writing, characterized by the author's sympathetic understanding of the age and by her charm of style.

Mount Holyoke College NORMA ADAMS

THE WELSH CHURCH FROM CONQUEST TO REFORMATION. By *Glanmor Williams*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 602.) Williams has produced a work of outstanding scholarship, covering with sympathy and insight a subject never before satisfactorily treated. His style is informal and readable. The book, which will long remain standard, should interest ecclesiastical, as well as Welsh, historians, but they will need some knowledge of Welsh and English medieval history. There are no maps, which might have substantially aided those unfamiliar with Wales. Otherwise, the scholarly apparatus is excellent, although I cannot discern on what basis Williams chooses to translate some and not other Welsh quotations in the footnotes. The bibliography includes episcopal registers, public documents, and unpublished Cistercian records. Williams nowhere neglects recent scholarship. One is nevertheless struck by the paucity of sources, especially for lives of important individuals. After an introductory chapter on the Church from about 1070 to 1282, Williams discusses the effects of the Edwardian conquest, concluding that it was no such disaster as was once supposed. In the late fourteenth century, papal influence provided a beneficial corrective to the increasing oppression of English rule. This was a period of decline, for which Williams holds the Black Death largely responsible. Clerical support of Owain Glyn Dwr, Williams argues, changed his insurrection from feudal conspiracy to national rebellion. Churchmen helped him frame a political, ecclesiastical, and diplomatic program. While neither minimizing the lasting ill effects, physical and spiritual, of the rebellion and its failure, nor ignoring the increase of lay control of the Church, Williams cites evidence for a hitherto largely unnoticed religious revival in the late fifteenth century. Accounts of the economic status and manner of life of the secular and regular clergy follow. Three chapters deal, from the historian's viewpoint, with religious learning and literature. Elsewhere, too, Williams uses literary sources extensively. On religious art, architecture, and music, he presents what scraps of evidence he can. A chapter on popular religion seems overlong and brings out little that is distinctively Welsh. The final chapter looks forward to a future study of the Welsh Reformation, which scholars will eagerly await.

Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point RHYS W. HAYS

DER LEIHEZWANG: EINE UNTERSUCHUNG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN LEHNRECHTES. By *Werner Goez*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1962. Pp. 287. Cloth DM 29.50, paper DM 25.) The author of this study dissects with great skill and industry the feudal practice of *Leihezwang*, a term coined

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by Heinrich Brunner to signify the obligation imposed on the German monarchs from the Hohenstaufen period onward to regrant within a year and a day all major fiefs held directly from the crown which had fallen vacant by reason of failure of heirs, felony, and so forth. Brunner and the older school of constitutional historians drew their evidence in favor of the mandatory character of the practice mainly from the prompt regranting of Henry the Lion's forfeited lands to Henry's territorial rivals by the Emperor Frederick I in 1180 and from the thirteenth-century codes of feudal custom, the *Sachsenspiegel* and the *Schwabenspiegel.* The authority of the codes as faithful mirrors of prevailing custom was thereafter strongly assailed by Herbert Gunia, *Der Leihezwang* (1938); Goez argues cogently that Frederick I's speedy alienation of Henry the Lion's lands to neighboring territorial princes was a measure intended to gain their military support for the Emperor in his forthcoming campaign against Henry and was not simply a recognition of established custom. Constructively, the author points out that in none of the customary codes is there express reference to failure of heirs or felony as a necessary condition to bring *Leihezwang* into operation. The codes prescribed for normal situations, and normally, on the death of the holder of a major fief, the heir would have been specified already by reason of descent or previous agreement. Hence *Leihezwang,* in the author's judgment, signified the obligation of the suzerain to grant major fiefs thus vacated to the rightful heir within a year and a day, provided that the latter had expressed his readiness within the same period to perform homage and service. In this context the term *ledig* (vacant) did not imply the plenary right of the monarch to dispose of the fief at will. It signified merely that the vacancy created by death had not yet been filled by the legal successor. Goez might well have strengthened his argument on this point by an analysis of the term *Gewalt* (potestas), which expressed the power of the monarch to govern and to administer vacant fiefs without prejudice to the ultimate right of succession of the legal heir. But in sum this reconstruction of *Leihezwang* is cogent and well documented; it will be difficult henceforth to regard the practice as a major cause of the failure of the monarchy to establish a comprehensive territorial basis of power in medieval Germany.

McGill University C. C. Bayley

THE QUEST FOR EASTERN CHRISTIANS: TRAVELS AND RUMOR IN THE AGE OF DISCOVERY. By *Francis M. Rogers.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 221. $4.75.) Rogers contends that the dream of Christian union was one of the leading motives of Portuguese overseas exploration and expansion. The dream was first nourished by accounts of Western travelers who met Eastern Christians in the Holy Land. With the crusades, Western interest shifted from the Christians they knew about in the Near East to those they heard about in the lands beyond the Islamic world. The actual design of union with the Christians beyond Islam was first conceived by the author of the apocryphal letter from Prester John of the Indies. It was further articulated as travelers brought back information about Christians in Cathay and Ethiopia, to which the imaginary site of Prester John's capital was transferred in fourteenth-century literature. A partial and fleeting union was declared at the Council of Florence, although neither the Ethiopian nor Indian Christians were included. It remained for the Portuguese, their imagination fired by their progress in the Atlantic, by their contacts with Eastern Christians at Florence, and by the travel literature, to translate the design for union into action. Inspired by religious zeal and by the apparent advantages of union, they reached India in 1499 and Ethiopia in 1520, but the fulfillment of the dream bore no fruit. There were no Prester John and no powerful Christian community to make military allies. Besides, Europeans found the ways of the Easterners strange and suspected they were heretics. Portuguese religious

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idealism succumbed to greed and lust for power, while their early tolerance receded before the Latin arrogance that they imbibed from the Renaissance. The idea of union gave way before the ideas of conversion and forcible conformity. Rogers' method of arguing his case almost entirely from the evidence of printed Western travel literature rests, as he acknowledges, upon the major premise that the books circulated widely, especially among the princes with power to act. It should be said that it also rests upon the minor premise that what the princes read became part of their own views and a major element of their policy. Few would deny that the Portuguese desired the union of Christians, but the travel literature alone cannot tell us what role that motive played; we need other kinds of evidence before we can accept Rogers' thesis. His method has other difficulties. The route through the literature is learned and delightful, but there are so many bibliographical and biographical diversions along the way that the course of the argument is often difficult to follow. As if this were not trouble enough, Rogers has not renounced the temptation to digress on the value of the individual human being, the New Criticism, and sundry other topics. This is a valuable contribution to the subject, but less satisfying than the author's earlier books.

Rutgers University DONALD WEINSTEIN

NOBILITÀ E POPOLO NEL COMUNE DI PISA: DALLE ORIGINI DEL PODESTARIATO ALL SIGNORIA DEI DONORATICO. By *Emilio Cristiani.* [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici in Napoli, Number 13.] (Naples: the Istituto. 1962. Pp. 522. L. 5,000.) In narrating the social and economic history of Pisa from the first years of the thirteenth century through the early *trecento,* the author treats the problem of urban population, the juridical and political characteristics of the nobility and *il popolo,* and the emergence of more varied and complex forms of communal organization. He maintains that the interpenetration of the nobility and *il popolo* encouraged the rise of pragmatic politics and a series of *ad hoc* legislative responses to everyday events. Pisa, like virtually every other northern Italian commune, enacted Draconian statutes against the nobility, but these were frequently observed in the breach. The gap between legal theory and communal practice encouraged an empirical approach to politics, and the author characterizes late medieval Pisa as a town in which the rise of new political forms far outstripped creative change in critical areas of contemporary economic life. He finds that alterations in the landed economy were indeed most gradual, but that finally patrimony did loom as a more crucial mark of status than the individual's tenurial ties. As is to be expected, he observes many similarities between the Pisan *contado* and the rural environs of other northern Italian towns. Along with Fanfani, Herlihy, and Sapori, Cristiani notes that the value of land remained relatively constant over this century. His findings also parallel those of Luzzatto: short-term leases tend to replace long-term agreements. The author confirms P. J. Jones's conclusion that the relative unimportance of labor services for the Luccan *contado* also obtains for the environs of Pisa. Internal political developments in Pisa likewise differed little from those of many other Tuscan towns. Guilds and guildsmen behaved in much the same way throughout Tuscany; soon the rule of the guild patriciate gave way to despotism. In a happy phrase, the historian Volpe termed one of these lords a "potestates mercatorum," and Cristiani provides ample substantiation for this judgment. In no particular is this work misleading, and the author's grasp of the intricacies of economic history is masterful. And yet this approach to communal experience, in evidence since the late 1920's, has severe limitations. As Ernesto Sestan has observed in his review of the writings of Nicola Ottokar, the founder of this approach to the thirteenth century (*Rivista storica italiana,* LXXI [1959], 178–84), such a history reveals little about the impulses to which political and economic forces responded; nor

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does it offer substantial insight into the bases for social and economic conflict. One can demonstrate, as Cristiani and Ottokar have, that nobles and *popolani* had every economic reason for cooperating, and yet medieval chroniclers, without exception, emphasized the bitter antagonism between noble and commoner. As a description of economic practice, the present work is outstanding; as an analysis of human motivation and social ethos, it lacks a certain dimension.

Western Reserve University MARVIN B. BECKER

LE DROIT FONCIER À BRUXELLES AU MOYEN ÂGE. By *Philippe Godding*. [Études d'histoire et d'ethnologie juridiques, Number 1.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie Solvay. 1960. Pp. xi, 455. 460 fr. B.) Professor Godding studies the law of urban property at Brussels from about 1250, when surviving records first become abundant, to about 1450. The evolution he discerns is clearly toward a more liberal regimen. Seigneurial encumbrances on land conveyances weaken, quicker procedures in legal disputes are developed, and the city court of aldermen (*scabini*) absorbs much of the business of Brussels' fairly numerous seigneurial courts. Simultaneously, the property of Brussels, once in Godding's estimation entirely or predominantly the alod of the duke, comes largely to be divided among churches and the prominent lay families who formed the urban patriciate. At Brussels, the most characteristic transaction in the late Middle Ages was the constitution and sale of perpetual rents upon real property. By this essentially credit operation which escaped the taint of usury, landlords and even tenants gained the money needed for the improvement of their properties, which in turn made possible the growth of the city. Within the limits of a history of law, Godding has produced an admirable book. He has utilized a mass of unpublished documents. He is quick to draw comparisons with the law of other northern towns (the similarities to Brussels are many, the contrasts few). It is only surprising that a legal history by a Belgian author should take no cognizance of and no position on the ideas concerning the nature of alodial property recently expressed by Joseph Balon [see *AHR*, LXVII (Oct. 1961), 99].

Bryn Mawr College DAVID HERLIHY

ECONOMIC GROWTH: ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *A. R. Bridbury*. (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1962. Pp. 115. 18*s*.) Mr. Bridbury believes that the Black Death had a bracing effect on the English economy, automatically raising per capita production and stimulating enterprise. The situation, he argues, was analogous to that of postfamine Ireland in the nineteenth century. Not having worked in the vast records on the medieval peasantry, he is, however, unable to develop the analogy, nor even to see how it sharpens the corollary problem of how and why the economic growth of the thirteenth century was ultimately checked. Instead, he simply overextends the conclusions to be drawn from Professor Carus-Wilson's solid work on the increase in cloth marketed between the 1330's and the 1390's, blandly asserting that before 1330 cloth exports were "probably" negligible. To make this credible he has to play down thirteenth-century evidence. Because villagers complained of having to use them for a fee, the water-powered fulling mills in which many lords then invested are therefore dismissed as a mere fiscal device. By the same reasoning water-powered flour mills could also be ignored. In fact, both uses of power freed labor time for other occupations that Bridbury has not examined. In the fifteenth century he finds it a "boon" to the towns to have houses stand empty. It seems difficult to account for the publication in book form of so slight and polemical an essay.

University of Michigan SYLVIA L. THRUPP

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LA NAISSANCE DE L'ESPRIT LAÏQUE AU DÉCLIN DU MOYEN ÂGE. Volume IV, GUILLAUME D'OCKHAM: DÉFENSE DE L'EMPIRE. By *Georges de Lagarde*. (New ed.; Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1962. Pp. xi, 269. 260 fr. B.) This is virtually a new study rather than a new edition. In Volume V of the first edition of *La naissance de l'esprit laïque* M. de Lagarde surveyed Ockham's ideas in relation to the Church and all the important states of the fourteenth century and to the corporative system of representation in assemblies. Here he devotes his attention to Ockham's theory of the universal Roman Empire. In summary, the author's interpretation is: to defend the Empire Ockham argued that it was in no way dependent on the spiritual authority of the Church for its existence, that it was founded by the Romans and had enjoyed a continuous history down to his own time, that as Holy Writ shows it was approved by God as necessary for the natural environment of men on earth, that it was not subject to the papal authority, and that it embraced all kingdoms of Christendom. Indeed, he held that kings received their right to rule from the Empire, although their realms enjoyed such autonomy that they were virtually sovereign states. Ockham believed that the Empire was "a symbol of the unity of Christianity and of the universe," in which, however, cities and kingdoms could play their varied roles. Even if the unity of the Empire was only theoretical, Ockham no doubt thought it was necessary to believe in it, just as one must believe in the unity of the Church. Although presenting no essentially new interpretation of Ockham's thought, the author has given a good, logical treatment that is based on careful reading of the sources and on the best recent scholarship.

University of Wisconsin GAINES POST

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF JOHN WYCLIF. By *L. J. Daly, S.J.* [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1962. Pp. xi, 168. $6.00.) In this scholarly introduction to the study of Wyclif's political theories Professor Daly first considers writers who may have influenced Wyclif (John of Salisbury, Roger Bacon, John of Paris, Giles of Rome, Marsilius of Padua, William of Ockham) on the principle that men, even men as "revolutionary" as Wyclif, are ordinarily men of their times. And this he proves Wyclif to have been. This is, indeed, one of the contributions of the study: that of revealing Wyclif as less original and less heterodox than traditionally believed. Even scholarship, it would appear, has become a convert to ecumenism, for after centuries of expounding the "heresies" of Wyclif, Hus, and Luther, scholars are now discovering how orthodox these reformers really were. Wyclif's concept of Christendom was conventional: a *respublica christiana* comprising two orders, the clergy in charge of one, the laity the other, one necessary to the other, both orders working for the "City of God." Clerics must assist the king since his first responsibility is that of ruling justly, although a "Caesarian clergy," engaged in purely secular affairs, is an abomination. The monarch will help the Church by depriving unworthy priests of their temporal goods, while ecclesiastics, for their part, may confiscate the holdings of secular lords who misuse their wealth. Throughout his study Daly introduces extensive quotations from Wyclif's writings to support his analyses.

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

PHILIP THE BOLD: THE FORMATION OF THE BURGUNDIAN STATE. By *Richard Vaughan*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 278. $5.50.) The thesis of this book is that Philip the Bold, rather than Philip the Good, was the real founder of the fifteenth-century Burgundian state. On the whole, Mr. Vaughan makes a convincing case. Separate regional administrations were formed for the Low

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Countries and for the two Burgundies, and a central ducal administration was set up which coordinated the work of the regional administrators. Local privileges had to be respected, and local officials retained much independent responsibility, especially in financial affairs. But it is certainly true that Philip had common policies in many matters for all his lands and that he tended to think of them more and more as a single political unit. The one flaw in the argument is that the Burgundian state was parasitic. Its administration was modeled on that of France; its administrative personnel included many men trained in the French civil service, and its budget was balanced only through extravagant gifts and payments by the King. Vaughan is aware of all these weaknesses, but perhaps he does not stress them enough; they help explain why the Burgundian state never quite became a real state. It is not often that a reviewer wishes that a book were longer. But Vaughan's lucid description of Burgundian institutions is a little too general. He tells us the theory; we should like to see a little more of the practice. No political institutions, and especially no fifteenth-century institutions, ever work as they are supposed to work. Vaughan has a good chapter on Philip's patronage of the arts; he might have followed the Flemish style and shown us some of the warts on the body politic. And he might have given a little more attention to the county of Burgundy. It had military importance and probably more influence on ducal policy than he thinks.

Princeton University JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE WORLD OF LEONARDO DA VINCI: MAN OF SCIENCE, ENGINEER AND DREAMER OF FLIGHT. By *Ivor B. Hart.* (New York: Viking Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 17–374. $7.95.) When Leonardo said: "Let no man who is not a mathematician read the elements of my work," he impaneled a jury. Its verdict has not been too favorable. Modern mathematicians have put into formulas the mechanical notions that Leonardo sketched so enchantingly, but described so ineptly. They conclude that he was a fine artist. Professor Ivor Hart, however, has remained Leonardo's champion faithfully through the years. The title and the subtitle of this new book by Hart do not each describe the whole, but rather its two separate parts. *The World of Leonardo da Vinci* refers to Part I, "Leonardo's Italy—the Build-up of the Renaissance," while *Man of Science, Engineer and Dreamer of Flight* refers to Part II (which has just this title) and is essentially a reworking of Hart's *The Mechanical Investigations of Leonardo da Vinci,* written in 1925. Part I of the new book will have little appeal for the scholarly world. The long digressive essay on cultural, political, and scientific antecedents, beginning with ancient times, makes all European history seem to be a prelude to Leonardo's career. Since this is meant to give the work popular appeal, it would be captious here to belabor its scholarly shortcomings. Part II, on Leonardo's mechanics, is best described as an enrichment of the 1925 book. There are fuller and clearer explanations of some of Leonardo's ingenious theories and dreams. The illustrative material is very rich indeed. In the last chapter (not found in the old work), Hart faces squarely the issue of Leonardo's niche in science' hall of fame. He guesses how Leonardo personally, or via the manuscript of his notebooks, might have influenced contemporary and later scientists. By the rules of historical inference, the arguments are flimsy enough, but still more questionable is the presumption that only good could have come from any contact with Leonardo's work. Suppose all his notebooks had been known to the whole scientific world continuously from Leonardo's death. Since every glimmering of truth seems to be contradicted by some other statement, how could anyone (save by chance) have discovered a scientific truth in Leonardo unless he knew already that it was true? We have all of Leonardo's thoughts, unsorted, chaotic:

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it is easy with hindsight to isolate the right tracks of wisdom in the notebooks, but what of the wrong scents his errors would have strewn? Suppose that Leonardo himself had essayed a synthesis of his scientific observations (as he opined he would do one day): being deficient in the power of mathematical formulation, could he have chosen correctly (except by random) between his own contradictory observations? In short, the historian of Leonardo encounters abundant chances for the retrospective fallacy. Hart errs here now and again, but always in a spirit of charity toward Leonardo's work. In this spirit likewise should we judge Hart's work.

University of Minnesota RALPH E. GIESEY

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

COPYHOLD, EQUITY, AND THE COMMON LAW. By *Charles Montgomery Gray.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 53.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. 254. $6.50.) Legal historians will welcome this competent monograph on the development of remedies afforded copyholders in equity and at common law in the Tudor period. The first chapter, based on an extensive examination of petitions in the Record Office, is a study of the scope of equitable protection in copyhold cases, and it attempts to establish the date of, and reasons for, the Chancellor's intervention. In the course of this discussion the author also examines the apparently concurrent jurisdiction of the Star Chamber and Court of Requests; in concluding that those courts merely imitated or supplemented chancery in certain types of cases, he casts doubt on Leadam's view as to the decisiveness of their protective role. The second chapter, an extension of the first, explores the beginnings of protection of the copyholder through the writ of trespass in the common-law courts. Whatever the reasons for the judges' decision to make that remedy available—and these Gray concedes must remain speculative—those courts gradually supplanted the Chancellor's jurisdiction except in cases where the lord wrongfully refused admittance upon surrender or inheritance. The final chapter deals with the assimilation of copyhold law to common law and with the elaboration of a body of legal doctrine concerning copyholds. In that process, which evolved chiefly under Elizabeth, the text writers, notably Coke, appear to have had more influence in bringing about uniformity than did the uncertainties of the decided cases, which were frequently in conflict. In discussing this development, Gray does not content himself with a mere exposition of doctrine, but considers the reasons for the progressive assimilation. It may be remarked, however, that his statement that conformity was achieved with little dispute seems overly broad in suggesting that the doctrine of destructibility of contingent remainders was extended to copyhold lands. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of English customary and common law. Its scholarship is particularly apparent in the extensive but carefully chosen quotations from original petitions and unreported cases.

University of Pennsylvania Law School GEORGE L. HASKINS

THE WOOL TRADE IN TUDOR AND STUART ENGLAND. By *Peter J. Bowden.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 242. $8.00.) A complete list of works dealing with the history of English wool and the wool trade would indeed be impressive. But impressive also is the vast number of extant records that bear on the subject. And these are far from exhausted. It is one of the strong points of this book

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that it draws upon much that is new; in particular, the chancery, Court of Requests, and Exchequer records have proved fruitful. The thesis earlier advanced by Professor Bowden (*Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., IX [no. 1, 1956]), that pasture even more than climate determines the quality of wool, is here further developed and provides the basic assumption on which the book rests. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bowden holds, improved English pastures had led to a lessening of short, fine wool, the basis of the medieval wool trade, and to a corresponding increase in heavier fleeces of longer, coarser staple. It was this changed character of the supply that turned English manufacturers to the making of worsteds and coarser textiles. Foreign competition had increasingly harried English cloth exporters since the mid-sixteenth century; hence the statute of 1614 forbidding the export of wool, that was designed to check it. This belief that English wool was indispensable to foreign manufacturers, expressed in similar statutes throughout the century, was England's great error, Bowden thinks, in that it did not achieve the goal intended, yet inadvertently kept down the price of wool. It did, however, provide an abundance of cheap raw material for the growing domestic industry of worsteds and coarser fabrics. Throughout this and other aspects of the story we are made painfully aware that pressures on government by special interests are no modern invention. If, as the data are presented, one sometimes can scarcely see the forest for the trees, this is nevertheless a thoughtful and provocative book that contains enough new material and interesting interpretation to keep the historical "wool experts" going for quite awhile.

Vassar College MILDRED CAMPBELL

THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD, 1593–1641: A REVALUATION. By *C. V. Wedgwood*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1962. Pp. 414. $6.00.) The "revaluation" in the subtitle of Miss Wedgwood's biography is in particular of her own first book, *Strafford*, initially published in February 1935. She has retained the structure and used much of the writing of her earlier work, but her new book is far more than what normally constitutes a revised edition. It is not only very much longer; what was originally a fine biography has now become a more profound and subtle one. I noted only one minor factual error. Miss Wedgwood refers in her introduction to the "drastic reappraisal of Strafford" necessitated by her perusal of the Strafford manuscripts now in Sheffield, especially for the five years preceding 1637. For the last five years of Wentworth's life, to which she devotes the latter half of her book, Miss Wedgwood drew naturally on the vast store of knowledge she acquired in the making of *The King's Peace*. She has also exploited, as she generously acknowledges, recent investigations by J. P. Cooper, H. F. Kearney, G. E. Aylmer, and Terence Ranger among others. When relevant material printed since February 1935 did not suffice, as is the case for the trial and attainder of Strafford, she has gone to such manuscripts in the British Museum as an unpublished portion of D'Ewes's journal, a hitherto unused account of the trial, and a bishop's diary. Thus a wider and deeper historical understanding has combined with a more mature judgment to transform the study of Wentworth. Miss Wedgwood is candid about her having taken him "altogether too much at his own evaluation" in her first book. He is now seen to have been "a much more complex and contradictory character." He was almost as ruthless and self-seeking as his enemies depicted him to be; he was capable of extraordinary self-deception about his own conduct and motives, and yet in his strength of intellect and will and devotion he was not surpassed in his time. In her searching analysis of Wentworth, Miss Wedgwood has achieved what she hoped: "not merely better history but a more interesting and in some ways a more tragic portrait." Wentworth stood for an authori-

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tarianism that had passed its creative phase in England. Perhaps he was therefore doomed. Miss Wedgwood reserves her most eloquent prose for his brilliant defense at his trial and for his magnificent last days when he humanized the ideals to which he had previously devoted his energies.

University of Rochester WILLSON H. COATES

SKIPPER FROM LEITH: THE HISTORY OF ROBERT BARTON OF OVER BARNTON. By *W. Stanford Reid.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1962. Pp. 334. $6.00.) This scholarly vignette is almost but not quite a full-dress example of the life-and-times genre of the historical monograph. Its subject was a member of a famous Scottish family of sailor-merchants whose exploits as sea rovers made them figures of legend at the turn of the sixteenth century. By dint of careful and, indeed, impressive research, Dr. Reid has assembled all the available information about Robert Barton and put it together in a very well-written, lucid monograph. The result is a most useful study of a figure whose significance has perhaps been too much obscured by the limitation of his national loyalty to a country which, at its greatest, was never more than a tertiary European power. Here we learn much, however, about the difficulties, the motives, and expediencies of one who served a state whose weaknesses were many and whose wealth was relatively slight. In that respect the work is a valuable illustration of the tribulations of a public servant in a national monarchy that never quite evolved into a nation-state. To suggest, as Reid does, that Barton is a prime example of the emerging European "middle classes" is perhaps to strive too hard after significant generalization in an attempt to justify the study of one who must seem to many readers a relatively obscure figure. Scotland was particularly slow in developing such a social stratum and had scarcely done so a century and more after Barton's death. If the author claims too much in this regard, he has still served a very useful, if more limited, scholarly purpose by giving us a picture of a half-forgotten but by no means unimportant figure who stood impressively within the context of his own time and place.

Barnard College SIDNEY A. BURRELL

THE HUNTING OF LEVIATHAN: SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY REACTIONS TO THE MATERIALISM AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS HOBBES. By *Samuel I. Mintz.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 189. $5.50.) Professor Mintz's examination of contemporary reactions to Hobbes's metaphysics and morality is an exercise in the new history of ideas, a study not of one idea, but of a complex of ideas, a growing, changing interrelation of notions. Hobbes's ideas, as his opponents recognized, came of ancient and feudal lineage; Mintz demonstrates that Hobbes's monolithic formulation caused ripples, waterspouts, and inundations when set in the local pool of preconceptions. Such a study shows many things, in particular the ways in which Hobbes's ideas were at once traditional and remarkably novel. Seventeenth-century thinkers were far more concerned with God and man than with society: Hobbes's critics thought that if they could demolish Hobbes's metaphysical assumptions, his morality and politics would take care of themselves. For the historian, Mintz's book has special value in what it demonstrates about intellectual stereotypes and intellectual lag. When English society in its highest ranks was openly libertine and absolutist, Hobbes was most bitterly attacked, precisely because of the libertine implications and absolutist prescription in his works. It was doubtless a comfort to Bramhall, Clarendon, Cudworth, and More that they had Hobbes's "steel-cap" to beat upon, since for obvious reasons they were debarred from commenting upon Charles II and

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his court. Often such a study as this leaves the reader wondering about its subject's importance. Not this one; we come away confirmed in our admiration for Hobbes's forceful mind, directness of speech (Professor Strauss to the contrary notwithstanding), and equanimity of temperament. However sympathetic his critics often seem to us, their analyses of Hobbes's work are too glancing, misdirected, or conventional for serious opposition. Their arguments derive less from logic than from society's preconceptions. This book, though it does not pose as such, is a social study in ideas.

Wesleyan University R. L. Colie

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH SHIPPING INDUSTRY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. By *Ralph Davis.* (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 427. $12.00.) Mr. Davis, senior lecturer at the University of Hull, regards his volume as contributing a partial answer to the "prime question of economic history, the causation of the Industrial Revolution." He found that shipping in the seventeenth century expanded rapidly; by 1700 some fifty thousand men were used on seagoing traders, and the capacity of the ships multiplied manyfold. During the early eighteenth century the merchant fleets grew less rapidly, but by 1750 the shipping industry had become one of the "pacemakes of advance." Davis concluded, nevertheless, that this industry had but a small direct influence on the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution. The volume furnishes much detail on shipping: ownership of vessels, their crews, the varying commercial loads, and the changing character of the ships themselves. The areas and products of interest receive treatment by regions; the trade between the east coast and the nearby ports on the Continent receives much emphasis. On the other hand, the East Indian trade is dismissed in ten pages. The trade with the Southern European countries included the triangle by which fish were carried from the Grand Banks, and the wines of Portugal and Spain were brought back in "sack-ships." The American and West Indian trade included, of course, another triangle. Davis adds an early (1700) set of instructions to a Liverpool master bound for the West Indies by way of Guinea. There are numerous statistical tables, but their particular sources are often omitted. An appendix comprises a full note on shipping statistics. The volume makes no reference to the growing packet boat services of these two centuries, although these vessels served as carriers of mail for the commercial classes along the main trading routes, and they did some business in the carriage of goods. The volume is a useful study, in considerable detail, of two centuries of advance that prefaced amazing progress after 1815.

Oberlin College Howard Robinson

THE BRITISH SEARCH FOR THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Glyndwr Williams.* [Imperial Studies Series, Number 24.] (London: Longmans for the Royal Commonwealth Society. 1962. Pp. xvi, 306. 35*s.*) The opening and closing phases of the British search for the Northwest Passage, 1576–1632 and 1818–1859, have been lavishly recorded by contemporary writers and later historians, but we have hitherto lacked a clear, concise narrative connecting the era of Henry Hudson with that of Sir John Franklin. This Williams has supplied. Hope for a navigable, interoceanic route, he reminds us, died hard. The sober conclusion of Baffin that no ocean channel issued west from Hudson's Bay had less weight with geographers than the myth of the Strait of Anian. For nearly a century (1632–1719) exploration was suspended owing to civil strife, French wars, and the task of organizing the fur trade. When the last was secured by the Peace of Utrecht, discovery was

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resumed until Vancouver's survey extinguished the hope for a passage of strategic or commercial value. Williams deals with the period 1719–1795 and proves a fixity of purpose and coherence in the apparently uncoordinated efforts of successive discoverers. The disastrous voyage of James Knight (1719) prompted the zealous Arthur Dobbs to agitate for a final solution of the problem of a passage west from Hudson's Bay. Though the gloomy but inconclusive reports of his clients, Middleton and Moor, were confirmed by the land journey of Samuel Hearne, geographic enthusiasts at home, still unconvinced, proposed to shift the effort from the bay to the warmer waters of the North Pacific and explore the mythical strait from its western outlet. There Cook and Vancouver proved that no passage existed within sub-Arctic latitudes. The author has done very well in his limited space. Dealing, as he does, both with the voyages and the theorists who promoted them, he has crowded his canvas without obscuring it. His episodes are clearly distinguished and well narrated. He is lively but impartial in his portrayal of individuals. He strikes a just balance between the slightly unbalanced Dobbs and his unlucky protégé, Captain Middleton, furnishes an excellent appreciation of the somewhat elusive Vancouver, and hits off the geographer, Dalrymple, in an epigram that is brilliant but not unfair. With an extensive bibliography this book is attractive to the general reader and helpful to the serious student.

Acadia University L. H. Neatby

PUBLIC OPINION, PROPAGANDA, AND POLITICS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND: A STUDY OF THE JEW BILL OF 1753. By *Thomas W. Perry*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 51.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 215. $4.75.) In 1753 Parliament passed a bill enabling Jews to acquire citizenship by private act of Parliament. An enabling measure only, introduced apparently at the request of Samson Gideon, a Jewish financial adviser to the government, it passed the Lords with no debate and the Commons with very little, but opposition "out of doors" developed rapidly to the point where it challenged comparison with the Sacheverell agitation of 1710. Fearing that he had wakened one of Walpole's "sleeping dogs," Pelham about-faced and had the offending piece of legislation repealed at the earliest opportunity. This is the episode studied by Professor Perry, but unfortunately his examination is fullest where it is least helpful and superficial where it could really contribute. The material on English Jewry, expressly mentioned as an important theme, is extremely thin: little beyond Lucy Sutherland's two articles on Samson Gideon. Perry should have been put in touch with J. A. Giuseppi, archivist of the Bank of England, whose records contain very useful material on the London Sephardic Jewish financial community. The discussion of London politics also leaves much to be desired. Perry has made no study of the divisions within the London mercantile community between the two groups of merchants who petitioned for the bill and the majority in the London Corporation, led by Sir John Barnard and including merchants in the Portugal trade, who opposed it. Instead we have an analysis of the pamphlets inspired by the bill and a little indication how the opposition made use of this "public opinion." That there was "public opinion" suggests to Perry that Namier's theories require some modification, but here he seems to lean too heavily on a few passages from *The Structure of Politics*. A more perceptive reading of Namier (including the Romanes Lecture and some of the essays) should have led to a recognition of the value of fuller biographical material on London politics and on the leading individuals concerned with the Jew Bill and so to a more solid investigation than the one we are given.

College of Wooster Robert Walcott

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EDMUND BURKE UND SEINE KRITIK DER FRANZÖSISCHEN REVOLUTION. By *Dietrich Hilger.* [Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien, Number 1.] (Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag. 1960. Pp. 153.) Hilger's work is the first in a series whose format corresponds to the *Ökonomische Studien* published by the same house. At a time of mounting interest in Edmund Burke, Hilger offers what appears to be the first comprehensive separate treatment of the underlying principles of Burkean political thought that bear on his critique of the French Revolution. The approach is coldly abstract and dissects in succession the subject's concepts of nature, his critique of equality, human rights, and popular sovereignty, the encounter with the contractual concept of government, and finally Burke's analysis of the term "people" and the political balance of power in society. The basic sources are the 1801 and the 1854 (Bohn) editions of the *Works,* as well as the Fitzwilliam and Bourke version of the *Correspondence.* There is a considerable bibliography of secondary works, which, however, omits some significant English and American contributions that might have been useful to the author; Carl B. Cone, Thomas Copeland (as author and editor), and Charles W. Parkin come to mind. Dixon Wecter's *Edmund Burke and His Kinsmen* might have tempted the author to inject some human warmth by introducing a Burke who was anything but a philosophical oracle, first, last, and always. One might also point out that Hilger misinterprets Burke's position vis-à-vis Rousseau when he claims that the Englishman's opposition to the "deplorable" doctrine of popular sovereignty is "explicitly" joined to an equally clear and reasoned opposition to Rousseau's writings on the subject. Hilger might have profited from Gordon McNeil's remarks in this journal [*AHR,* LVIII (July 1953), 808–23] and tempered his conclusions with the qualification that Burke's knowledge of the Genevan was secondhand and consisted largely of contemporary misconceptions. Hilger's work is, nevertheless, a useful synthesis.

Tulane University HANS A. SCHMITT

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH EUROPE, *1783–1793.* By *John Ehrman.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 231. $5.50.) Pitt's decade of reconstruction and reform is finally beginning to receive the attention it deserves. Binney's book on public finance, Ward's studies of the revenue boards, and now Ehrman's book on commercial policy are thorough, scholarly treatments of important aspects of Pitt's work. Much more remains to be done before we can fully evaluate the career of this remarkable, yet mysterious young man, but now we are getting the specialized studies from which a new synthesis can be made. Ehrman's book is a study of an interlocking network of commercial negotiations with Portugal, Spain, Russia, Poland, Prussia, the Two Sicilies, Sweden, Turkey, the Austrian Netherlands, and France. His scholarship is thorough and meticulous, his handling of the sources is keen yet cautious, and he has organized his unwieldy material as well as can be expected. In following the interwoven threads of his subject, he examines many aspects of British trade and illuminates the process of formulating commercial policy. In his view, British policy was piecemeal and pragmatic, reacting to opportunities rather than actively seeking them out and pursuing advantages within the traditional framework of mercantilism. Despite these valuable contributions, this is not a satisfying book. The author has chosen to divorce British negotiations from the simultaneous negotiations going on among other European nations, although these negotiations had great influence on the outcome of those in which Britain was engaged. Ripped from its essential context, Ehrman's account often seems unreal. Furthermore, he has not attempted to place commercial negotiations with Europe within the context

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of Pitt's political, diplomatic, financial, and colonial concerns. Pitt is a remote and distant figure in this book, and we are never led to see these commercial negotiations as one ball in Pitt's amazing juggling act. The elusive Pitt has escaped again, though Ehrman's book brings us closer to catching him.

Illinois State Normal University E. A. Reitan

'CLEMENCY' CANNING: CHARLES JOHN, 1ST EARL CANNING, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND VICEROY OF INDIA, 1856–1862. By *Michael Maclagan*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1962. Pp. xvi, 419. $10.00.) Maclagan has an immense advantage in this book since he is the only modern scholar to have had access to Canning's private papers. The resulting biography is noteworthy for lengthy excerpts from these otherwise unavailable manuscripts. Some excerpts significantly reveal Canning's mind and activities, such as his information to Elgin, his successor, about servants, carriages, secretaries, and wines. Still Maclagan has not used this enviable resource effectively. Perhaps noble British families should either deny everyone their papers or deposit them in the British Museum for all scholars. A monopoly in manuscripts, like the East India Company's monopoly, is an anachronism. These papers should induce fresh historiography, but Maclagan merely writes a quasi-official biography supporting Canning's reputation. He neither illuminates the mutiny nor offers a searching and objective interpretation of it. To Maclagan, Indians are still "natives." It is painful to have the Rani of Jhansi the most highly praised of mutiny leaders, as if a woman put the men to shame. Similarly Maclagan introduces Tantia Topi with an unlikable physical description, as if that were relevant, and then haphazardly and pages later reveals this mutiny leader as a resolute fighter and "an immensely resourceful guerrilla." This may be merely disorganized, but it appears prejudicial. As for Nana Sahib, the Peshwa's heir, Maclagan retains the old unfavorable British view. Maclagan's handling of administrative and political affairs under Canning is also unsatisfying. He hardly touches the records of the India Office Library and leaves readers incompletely informed about many events and problems. The financial controversy that led to Charles Trevelyan's recall as governor of Madras is largely unexplained. Maclagan accepts Canning's position, yet was Canning correct? Trevelyan, after all, returned to India as the financial member of the supreme council, 1862–1865. Maclagan uncritically introduces an 1860 statement of James Wilson, the founder of *The Economist* and financial member of the supreme council, that "every class of the community is in a condition of unparalleled prosperity." This is an incredible mid-Victorian illusion and suggests that Canning's financial ideas need re-examination. Of course, since Canning's papers are unavailable, who can be encouraged to make this fresh study, either of the mutiny or of Canning's administration? It is disadvantageous that Maclagan wrote a conventional family biography.

Bowdoin College George D. Bearce

EUROPE

L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA VISTA DAI DIPLOMATICI PORTOGHESI (1848–1870). In two volumes. Edited by *Eduardo Brazão*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Second Series, Fonti. Volumes XLIV and XLV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1962. Pp. xxv, 414; 421–879). In recent years Italian historians, under the leadership of Ghisalberti and Valsecchi, have been more deeply concerned with the role played by the major European countries in the Italian *Risorgimento*. Most scholars agree

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that the *Risorgimento* cannot be fully understood without reference to Europe, even though certain problems were and remain essentially and exclusively Italian in scope and therefore have little or no meaning outside of Italy. They maintain that the diplomatic correspondence of foreign ministers at the court of Savoy during those crucial decades constitutes an important source of information for the study of these aspects of the unification process. These two volumes by Brazão, currently the Portuguese ambassador to Italy, represent a significant contribution to the study of Portugal's role in the *Risorgimento*. Brazão has devoted years of study, research, collecting, and editing to the diplomatic correspondence of Viscount de Moura, Count de Alte, and Viscount de Castro who, from 1848 to 1870, were accredited to the court of Savoy. A careful reading of the dispatches makes clear that though the Portuguese followed with interest and sympathy the events of the *Risorgimento,* the liberal governments of Lisbon were opposed to the threats against the temporal power of the Church and above all against the person of the pope. Yet, even when they did not approve of all they saw and heard, the information they transmitted to the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs were always substantially objective. Brazão's volumes, containing only those dispatches that bear directly or indirectly on the *Risorgimento,* help to give us a better understanding and a deeper knowledge of that historical period.

Columbia University HOWARD R. MARRARO

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA GRAN BRETAGNA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume VI (2 GENNAIO 1857–29 MARZO 1859). Edited by *Giuseppe Giarrizzo.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1962. Pp. xii, 445. L. 3,500.) Giarrizzo has produced in this work another solid and well-edited addition to the English-Sardinian documentary series. He draws his material mainly from the British diplomatic correspondence (PRO FO 67 and 167), from the private papers of Russell, Cowley, and Clarendon, and from the Royal Archives in Windsor. Covering the period from January 1857 to March 1859, this volume of 450 documents includes important materials on the questions of the Danubian Principalities, the Austro-Sardinian diplomatic break, the "Cagliari" affair, the Orsini affair, the Plombières interview, the marriage of Prince Napoleon, and the events preceding the Austro-Sardinian War. There are also valuable materials on such men as Walewski, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II, Napoleon III, Clarendon, Hudson, Rattazzi, E. d'Azeglio, Buol, and Cowley. One interesting revelation among many was that, in spite of all Cavour's efforts to keep his Plombières interview secret, Hudson knew about it two days before it took place, and the Foreign Office was *au courant* four days later. The editor is to be especially congratulated on the almost flawless reproduction of these English texts.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

DER DREIBUND NACH DEM STURZE BISMARCKS. Volume I, ENGLAND IM EINVERSTÄNDNIS MIT DEM DREIBUND, 1890–1896. By *Helge Granfelt.* [Schriften der fahlbeckschen Stiftung, Volume XLVI.] (Lund: CWK Gleerup. 1962. Pp. 284. Kr. S. 26.) This is a very detailed study, ripened through years of quiet research. It was in 1924 that Granfelt published his first volume on the Triple Alliance, entitled *Vom Zweibund bis zum Sturze Bismarcks.* For the continuation of the study (as he points out in the foreword to the present book) he needed to wait for the pertinent British and French documents, the last of which appeared only in 1953. At about

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the same time the documents of the 1890's in the Public Record Office also became accessible, and these he has used, together with the Austrian *Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv*. To complete the picture, he has made a thorough study not only of previous monographs on the subject but also (and more originally) of the leading contemporary newspapers and parliamentary records in order to show the influence on the alliance of public opinion and party politics. The result of this patient labor is a work not likely to be overhauled in a hurry. The main lines of the story that Granfelt tells are already well known, particularly with respect to the positions of the Great Powers. The originality of his contribution lies primarily in the information he presents on the policies of the smaller powers, each with its peculiar orbital relationship to the Triple Alliance or to the competing Dual Alliance of France and Russia. As Granfelt sagely observes: even the pawns are not to be disdained on the great chessboard of Europe. There is an excellent bibliography, and almost every one of the fifteen chapters ends in a neat paragraph or two labeled "summary and conclusions."

Washington, D. C. WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

STOSUNKI POLSKO–NIEMIECKIE, 1919–1925 [Polish-German Relations, 1919–1925]. By *Jerzy Krasuski*. [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 3.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1962. Pp. 522. Zł. 90.) This study, emanating from a doctoral dissertation at the University of Poznań, provides the fullest account to date of Polish-German relations in the period from the Treaty of Versailles to Piłsudski's *coup d'état* (1919–1926). Krasuski provides some new information on certain aspects of these relations, based on extensive research in the Polish and East German archives (the Archives of the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Archives for the New Records in Warsaw, the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam, and the *Sächsisches Landeshauptarchiv* in Dresden). He did not see the important collection of German documents in Western Germany (available also on microfilm) and the collections of pertinent documents in London and in America. Unfortunately, this is a disappointing book. It could profitably stand much pruning and condensing, for it is a typically padded dissertation. Too much space is devoted to a rather elementary account of internal developments in Germany and of the policies of the Western Powers toward Germany and Russia after Versailles. This account, moreover, is written from a Polish viewpoint. On the other hand, the relations between Warsaw and Berlin on the governmental level could be described and analyzed more fully, even though Krasuski expatiates on some questions that loomed large in these relations, such as the Upper Silesian question, the question of citizenship and option for the Germans in the former German territories taken over by Poland, the question of the liquidation of German private property there, and the question of the German minority in Poland generally. Krasuski is, however, reluctant to discuss the German-Soviet schemes and overtures directed against Poland, particularly the Soviet playing of the Polish card. Other shortcomings of the book are the poor organization and the ponderous style. There are no bibliography and no index, but there is a six-page summary in German. In spite of all this, the work has merit and definitely represents a contribution to the growing scholarly literature on the subject. In my copy of the book pages 385 to 400 are in duplicate, and pages 497 to 512 are missing. This is not an isolated case. It is the fifth time that I have come across this in books and periodicals published in Poland.

University of Hawaii ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

VOIX ET IMAGES DE TOULOUSE. By *Philippe Wolff* and *Jean Dieuzaide*. (Toulouse: Privat, Éditeur. 1962. Pp. 288, 36 fr.) Containing excerpts from the sources

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on the history of Toulouse from Rome to today, this book complements Wolff's earlier *Histoire de Toulouse* [see *AHR,* LXV (Oct. 1959), 118]. While the excerpts are naturally thin at first, they become full and lively starting with the Albigensian Crusade. The best pieces convey the town's violence and grandeur during the Renaissance and Protestant Wars. Later sources are equally rich, but reflect the sad fact that Toulouse had become a backwater. Although touched by its quaintness, modern visitors often found it superstitious, backward, and dirty. Recent changes are neglected, although many fine photographs of the present town are included.

Columbia University JOHN MUNDY

FOURCROY: CHEMIST AND REVOLUTIONARY, 1755–1809. By *W. A. Smeaton.* (Cambridge, Eng.: W. Heffer and Sons for the Author. 1962. Pp. xxi, 288. 40*s.*) The outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation accepted at the University of London in 1958, this book represents the first extensive study yet made of Fourcroy, a leading chemist of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Coming from a modest Parisian background, Fourcroy proved himself a brilliant student at the university of that city where he took his degree in medicine. Though a physician, he never practiced save for a few months, gratis, during the Revolution. Instead he became a lecturer and author of studies in chemistry, then undergoing rapid transformation and attracting the attention of the beau monde. Giving especial attention to the medical aspects of chemistry, he gained a meteoric reputation during the 1780's, as lecturer at the Royal Veterinary School of Alfort, the *Jardin des Plantes,* and in the *lycée* founded by Pilâtre de Rozier. By 1787, at thirty-two, he "was established as the leading teacher of chemistry in France." During the Revolution he continued to lecture and write; in addition, he entered actively into politics and held various posts, mostly minor, until July 1793, when he succeeded Marat as deputy in the Convention. The author fails to explain why Fourcroy became a revolutionary, for he fared better under the old regime. Smeaton indeed portrays him, though unconvincingly, as a reluctant revolutionist and defends him against charges that he was instrumental in closing the academies and that he did nothing to save Lavoisier from the guillotine. Fourcroy was long very active in educational matters, and the author thinks that he had reason to expect appointment in 1808 as grand master of the university. This is a good treatise on Fourcroy whose work deserves posterity's recognition. Especially to be commended is the elaborate catalogue of Fourcroy's many writings, their editions, translations, and, in the case of rare copies, their location in libraries.

University of Kentucky SHELBY T. MCCLOY

NAPOLÉON III: HOMME DU XX^e SIÈCLE. By *Suzanne Desternes* and *Henriette Chandet.* (Paris: Hachette. 1961. Pp. 365. 19.50 fr.) Rather than attempting a full-fledged biography of Napoleon III, the authors have presented a series of impressionistic tableaux of the Emperor's major areas of activity, preceded by a lengthy narrative of his rise to power. This introduction, though very readable, does not compare with A. Dansette's far more judicious account of Louis Napoleon's early career, also published in 1961. Miss Desternes's and Miss Chandet's emphasis on the Emperor's social consciousness, his welfare policies, and "twentieth century" concern with economic growth will come as no surprise to readers acquainted with A. Guérard's interpretation. Among lesser-known topics, the book contains an interesting survey of Napoleon III's Algerian policy, which, despite shifts and inconsistencies, tended to protect Arab rights against *colon* encroachment. In appraising the Emperor's aspirations and achievements in the realm of domestic and colonial policy, the authors present the stock

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image of "the good Napoleon III" in its most uncritical form, yet they part company with friendly interpreters, such as Lynn Case, in indicting imperial foreign policy as a threat to French national interests from its very inception. While *Napoléon III: Homme du* XX*e siècle* is a lively and well-written book apparently based on extensive primary documentation, scholars will be exasperated by tantalizingly vague source references. It should also be pointed out that the interpretation presented by the authors does not, as the title and introduction of the book suggest, depict a ruler dealing with "our" problems, but one coping with the severe strains of adolescent industrialism at home and national unification abroad. If we insist on transposing Napoleon III into the twentieth century, Nasser, rather than De Gaulle, offers the more suggestive analogue.

Oakland University PETER AMANN

LA VIE POLITIQUE D'ÉDOUARD HERRIOT. By *Michel Soulié*. Preface by *Jean Rostand*. ([Paris:] Librairie Armand Colin. 1962. Pp. x, 626.) Herriot's long, tumultuous, and productive political career began in 1904 when he was elected municipal councilor in Lyons. The following year he became mayor of Lyons, a position he was to occupy, except for brief periods in 1920 and 1931 and during his exile under the occupation, for half a century. From 1912, when he entered the senate, until his retirement from the office of President of the National Assembly in 1953, Herriot played a prominent role in French political life; on at least two occasions—as head of the *Cartel des Gauches* in 1924 and as Premier in 1932—he dominated the national scene. To the extent that any individual could, Herriot embodied what was most generous and enlightened in the political philosophy and doctrines of the Radical party, with which he was actively identified from his entry into politics until his death in March 1957. He knew very well the harsh and often bitter realities of the political arena, yet he had an essentially optimistic view of the possibilities of human development, of the political capacity of *le Français moyen,* and an abiding faith in the virtues of science and reason and in the ability of dedicated public servants to bring these virtues to bear in the determination of political and social policies and programs. This study of Herriot's public career is based on an intimate knowledge of contemporary French political history and on a wide range of published and unpublished materials. The author made extensive and judicious use of official documents, political monographs and biographical works, and the files of Parisian and provincial newspapers and periodicals. He also examined Herriot's personal papers and unpublished correspondence and interviewed many individuals who had been associated in one way or another with him. This is a fine study in every respect.

City College of New York AARON NOLAND

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC: MILITARY REVOLT IN FRANCE. By *James H. Meisel*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 309. $5.95.) Professor Meisel, author of two well-received books on Sorel and Mosca, has turned this time to a different genre: contemporary history. His subject, partially shrouded beneath an ambiguous title, is the resurgence of a new kind of Fascism in France, embodied in the OAS and grounded in a new doctrine of counterrevolutionary war. Parts I and III contain a detailed analysis of the French army's role in the Algerian war, focused primarily on the successive crises or attempted coups of 1958–1962. Sandwiched between them, Part II examines the emergence of a new ideology within the army—an ideology drawn in considerable part from the doctrines of Mao Tse-tung. Meisel admits that many French officers whom he consulted cautioned him against taking this theory too seriously. He also admits the hazards of writing about events

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that are still in progress, but seeks to defend himself by arguing that the outcome of any process always distorts our understanding of it: "the most terrible of all historical *simplificateurs* [he declares] is history itself." There is something in what he says, though I doubt that many practitioners of contemporary history would find it an adequate justification for what they do. The course of events since Meisel finished his book in 1962 has already outrun some of his judgments, and we cannot yet be sure that posterity's version of the episode will be more distorted than his view of it. If what he calls military fascism does continue to gain strength in France and eventually strikes for power, his book will be seen as remarkably prescient. If, on the other hand, the Gaullist regime manages to maintain stability and to find a remedy for the army's "collective alienation," much of his argument will seem strained and unreal. This is a curious book in many respects: brilliant, yet at the same time exasperating. The author is remarkably well informed, with a gift for pungent epigrams and shrewd insights. "Grandeur and cunning: the deliberate, archaic ambiguity of De Gaulle's public style . . ."; it would be difficult to find a better capsule characterization. Yet his argument is often obscured by its idiosyncratic logical structure and its even more highly personal traits of style. Erudite Latin quotations are interspersed with breezy, journalistic passages; we leap backward and forward in dizzying fashion between past and present tenses. The patient reader will find enough nuggets to justify his effort, but he is likely to wish that the nuggets had been combined in more effective fashion.

Stanford University GORDON WRIGHT

CRISTOBAL ROJAS Y SPINOLA, CAMERALIST AND IRENICIST, 1626–1695. By *Samuel J. T. Miller* and *John P. Spielman, Jr.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LII, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1962. Pp. 108. $2.50.) Research in the history of Christian reunion efforts (Professor Miller) and in the history of Austrian mercantilism (Professor Spielman) is most happily combined in this first study in English of the life and times of the much-mentioned and little-known Cristobal Rojas y Spinola. This Spaniard's diverse interests and wide-ranging experience (in addition to being the middleman in contacts between the churches, he was a successful diplomat, a leading Austrian cameralist, and something of a churchman, too) and the immense amount of traveling he did in the Catholic and the Habsburg causes are presented with a wealth of documentation (some of it new) and detail. Rojas is firmly established as a member of that group of adventurers, dreamers, and prophets—his friends Becher and Hörnigk among them—who clustered about Leopold I and produced an endless stream of projects for bolstering up Habsburg power and thereby propelling Leopold, almost against his will, into greatness. Their grasp of reality may have been tenuous at times, their thinking superficial, their optimism incurable, but their *élan,* imagination, and, above all, their restless spirit can never be discounted in an assessment of the Austrian baroque. In Rojas' case, diplomacy led to cameralism and that, in turn, to work for reunion. His innumerable conversations and correspondences and his strenuous tours of the German *Kleinstaaterei* evoke admiration. For there suspicious princelings and court theologians were the rule, and the sympathy of Leibniz, Molanus, and Sophia Dorothea, the exception. A strategist rather than a tactician of reunion, he sought only to create an atmosphere in which the experts could begin to converse. How much he improvised, how much he borrowed, how much he left unsaid in discussing controverted points remain a mystery. One thing is certain: after a reading of this monograph no one can afford in the future to smile patronizingly at a man and a program that were "bound to fail."

Harvard University WILLIAM B. SLOTTMAN

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LA INSTITUCIÓN LIBRE DE ENSEÑANZA. Volume I, ORÍGENES Y ETAPA UNIVERSITARIA (1860–1881). By *Vicente Cacho Viu.* Preface by *Florentino Pérez-Embid.* [Colección Rialp, De cuestiones fundamentales, Number 7.] (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp. 1962. Pp. 572.) The life of a university professor in nineteenth-century Spain had to be frustrating. The politics of Catholicism, Carlism, and concubinage hamstrung the state, and the state, against all the best traditions of Spain, pockmarked education and persecuted professors. Finally, in 1876, a group of dedicated scholars took advantage of a fit of freedom that had seized the state and founded their own school, the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza.* Francisco Giner de los Ríos led the group. Giner traced his intellectual lineage to Julián Sanz del Río, who had introduced Spain to the teachings of the somewhat obscure German philosopher, Karl Christian Krause. Tempered by Spain and obfuscated by Sanz del Río's prose, Krause, through Giner, provided the philosophic base for the *Institución Libre.* In short, one could describe the application of Krause as the "teaching of the whole child." But the phrase is redolent with the strangling clichés of present-day education. With more propriety for language, the philosophy of the *Institución Libre* was as humanitarian and as Spanish as Valdés, Vitoria, and Vives, and as practical as Sancho Panza. Although the *Institución Libre* failed as a university, it succeeded singularly as a primary and secondary school. Professors taught with the facilities at hand. A religious procession became a history lesson as well as a comment on spiritual life. A visit to Toledo could combine lessons in architecture, history, and morality. A trip to the beach could be fun. Discipline came without debasement; success was reward enough. To indicate the influence of the *Institución Libre* before it fell victim to the civil war, Salvador de Madariaga called it the nursery of contemporary Spain. In this first volume, Vicente Cacho Viu sets the political and intellectual background, describes in detail the founding, and traces the history of the school until 1881. Clearly presented and generously documented, the book is superb in every respect.

University of Denver LOUIS E. BUMGARTNER

PORTVGALIAE MONVMENTA CARTOGRAPHICA. COMEMORAÇÕES DO V CENTENÁRIO DA MORTE DO INFANTE D. HENRIQUE. In four volumes. By *Armando Cortesão* and *Avelino Teixeira da Mota.* (Lisbon: [Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenario da Morte do Infante D. Henrique.] 1960. Pp. lii, 172; xx, 131; xx, 113; xx, 160, 519 plates.) The occasion of the commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator has been marked by the issuance of an elaborate four-volume atlas portraying the wealth of surviving Portuguese cartography from the fifteenth into the seventeenth century. An ensuing fifth volume will include further selections from the latter century and will also contain a combined index to the entire work. The excellent reproductions, some in color, are accompanied by critical and historical studies, in both Portuguese and English, of each chart and map by the well-known scholars of early cartography, Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota. As Cortesão points out, some of the material included in these volumes had already been gathered by the authors for independent use in other studies. The opportunity presented by this commemorative publication caused them, however, to combine this data with research required here, and a much more detailed work has then resulted than would have been otherwise possible. The first volume opens with a brief and judicious survey of early cartography, serving as a background to the Age of Discovery which in the fifteenth century saw this small Iberian nation take the initiative in a determined search for the wealth and treasure of Africa and the East as well as the fabled kingdom of Prester John. Strangely enough,

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though many were known to have been produced, only one complete Portuguese chart and the fragment of another are known to have survived from this century which saw in 1497 the beginning of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India and had already seen the historic journey of Columbus in 1492. The momentum generated by Prince Henry and the leaders of the Portuguese nation who aided and followed his inspiration is reflected, however, in the related maps of other nations during this period, and this is also shown, of course, in the later Portuguese maps of the following centuries, a notable selection of which are given here. All of the libraries that are fortunate enough to include these volumes in their collections have an invaluable annotated atlas of reproductions of some of the most important maps and charts of a historically and cartographically important era.

William L. Clements Library CHRISTIAN BRUN

HISTORY OF STOCKHOLMS ENSKILDA BANK TO 1914. By *Olle Gasslander.* ([Stockholm: Stockholms Enskilda Bank. 1962.] Pp. 643.) Commercial banks, by regulating in effect the flow of open-market capital to business, are bound to represent a major influence in the industrial development of free enterprise nations. This influence may be wielded to promote or retard economic development and may be exercised with varying degrees of active intervention in the management of client firms. While their aggregate power is probably declining in the face of ever-growing, self-financing capability of local industry during postwar decades, Swedish banks traditionally have played a more active role in industrial development and transformation than the banks in many other nations. This is notably true of the largest institutions, the *Skandinaviska Banken,* the *Stockholms Enskilda Bank,* and the *Svenska Handelsbanken.* Nowadays smallest among the big three on most conventional criteria, the *Stockholms Enskilda Bank* (SEB) is nevertheless the most interesting one, as its history is more intimately interwoven with that of its principal clients than is true of the others. It is therefore gratifying to see an English edition of the history of the SEB written by Olle Gasslander. The book focuses on the period 1886–1914. It is no happenstance that these were the years of crucial development of both the SEB and of big business. "This account is in fact the story of a group of entrepreneurs whose instrument was a banking institution." An important facilitating factor in the SEB activities in Swedish industry during its adolescent years was, no doubt, the strongly centralized control in the hands of the Wallenberg family (a control that it still retains), richly endowed with entrepreneurial talent and with funds. These men "did not sit back quietly waiting for business." They went out and on their own initiative "created a considerable part of their clientele." The master strategy of the SEB was (and in large part remains) to promote the establishment of, and in times of major crises to support, large industrial and commercial undertakings (at the expense of mass banking activities). Such activities of the bank relative to two of Sweden's three largest enterprises, the LKAB iron ore mining concern and the ASEA (the Swedish General Electric Company—not related to GE) during their formative periods provide fascinating reading, as does that of SEB sponsorship of the Norwegian hydroelectric nitrate industry and many other ventures. Gasslander's ambition was to analyze the functions of a large commercial bank as a factor in economic development. His work is in sharp contrast to histories of banks that focus on creation and closing of branches and the introduction of such new features as current, deposit, and capital, and savings accounts. That he succeeded in this regard is evident. The material is well organized, and the 643-page condensation from the two-volume Swedish original has been carefully done. A thoroughly scholarly job is the result. One can only regret the author's untimely death at the end of last year.

University of Chicago HANS B. THORELLI

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THREE GENERATIONS: THE EXTREME RIGHT WING IN FINNISH POLITICS. By *Marvin Rintala.* [Indiana University Publications, Russian and East European Series, Volume XXII.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1962. Pp. 281. $5.00.) This study purports to survey "the development of thought, action and organization in the extreme right wing in Finnish politics" during 1917–1939. After 1918 the author sees the party situation as "representing conflicting interpretations" of the Finnish civil war and war of independence in 1918. In his view, the republic and "parliamentary government remained fundamentally unchanged" during the interwar period. He manages, however, by inserting the word "fundamentally," to insinuate that Finnish democracy, "made possible" by the defeat of Germany in 1918, was in a sorry state, endangered by the purposes and undertakings of the "extreme right." Dr. Rintala writes well and enthusiastically. His main problem turns out to be the identification of the "extreme right" and the measuring of its manifestations in the political life of Finland. The Academic Karelia Society is given an importance no informed student of Finnish politics before 1939 could well ascribe to it. A miscellaneous assortment of individuals and groups is identified pell-mell as "rightists." The civil guards whose "militancy," the author holds, "was to prove most dangerous to parliamentary government," are also assigned a role that is strangely out of scale. The same applies to President Svinhufvud whom the author sees as "joining forces" with the Lapua movement of the early 1930's, and Marshal Mannerheim who, we are asked to believe, "remained faithful to the Lapua movement" to the end of his life. Generalizations and evaluation of this kind suffice to indicate that this book gives a picture of Finland during the 1920's and 1930's that is more than moderately out of focus.

Columbia University JOHN H. WUORINEN

ZASIUS UND REUCHLIN: EINE RECHTSGESCHICHTLICH-VERGLEICHENDE STUDIE ZUM TOLERANZPROBLEM IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Guido Kisch.* [Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften, Number 1.] (Constance: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1961. Pp. 104. DM 14.50.) The author's earlier interests in the legal and social status of the Jews in medieval Germany and the relation of humanism and jurisprudence in the Renaissance focus in this present investigation on the problem of toleration and the position of the Jews as reflected in the thought of two leading humanist jurists. The various historical, theological, philosophical, and juridical factors involved are examined with care and precision as they came into play in the contrasting attitudes of Reuchlin and Zasius. The importance for Reuchlin of Bartolus and legal considerations is stressed. The benighted hostility of Zasius toward the Jews, in turn, helps to explain his detachment from Reuchlin's cause in the notorious controversy.

Stanford University LEWIS W. SPITZ

PAUL DE LAGARDE, 1827–1891: A STUDY OF RADICAL CONSERVATISM IN GERMANY. By *Robert W. Lougee.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 357. $7.50.) It is difficult for an American scholar to find much that is appealing in the writings of Paul de Lagarde. The intensity of his nationalism, anti-Semitism, and antiliberalism is repellent. The pedantry and pettiness of his academic controversies increase our hostility. It is a merit of Professor Lougee's new study of this enigmatic savant that he is able to paint lights as well as shadows, to portray the deep piety that infused much of Lagarde's work and the sincerity of his misdirected idealism. Lagarde was an Orientalist, a theologian, a philosopher of history, a political and social critic. He taught the Hebrew, Arabian, and Syriac languages. He planned and labored at publishing a new edition of the Septuagint. He engaged in a broad range of theological-historical studies. Possessed of "phenomenal knowledge," Lagarde

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lacked, however, in Lougee's words, "the pertinacious self-discipline required to pursue the main thread of an investigation" and "failed to give the world the full benefit of his incredible erudition." Instead, he became as much *Zeitkritiker* as scholar, a reformer who wished to remold his German nation, broadening it into a German *Mitteleuropa* and building out of the cacophony of culture resulting from liberal and Semitic influences a truly national culture that would be "an harmonious choir of individually unique spirits." Obscure so far as the general public was concerned, Lagarde exercised a great influence upon the intellectuals of his day and of the following era. Lougee's study of Lagarde follows closely that of Fritz Stern in his *The Politics of Cultural Despair*. Stern's work provided a broader basis of interpretation than does the present volume, placing Lagarde within the larger picture of the intellectual revolt against modernity and the putative "moral decay" accompanying it. This later study, however, sketches more clearly the particular individual characteristics of Lagarde and his writings. It is bolstered by a careful study of Lagarde's extensive correspondence in the archives in Göttingen and an exhaustive usage of the vast body of literature by and on Lagarde.

Florida State University EARL R. BECK

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN DEUTSCHLAND VON 1871 BIS 1900. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volume III.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1962. Pp. vi, 488. DM 44.) This is an elaborately documented and ingeniously focused indictment of late nineteenth-century German capitalism by the famous East German labor historian. The crisis of the mid-1870's is made the point of transition from a laissez-faire policy to protectionism in 1879 and the rapid growth of monopolies during the 1880's. This monopoly or "second stage" of German capitalism paves the way for its "third" or imperialistic stage which, in the author's familiar Marxian jargon, denotes the cartelization of the economy and the consequent struggle for world markets. A very pertinent discussion of the "social question" involves the exceptional laws of 1878, the rise of the Social Democratic party, and Bismarck's social insurance system. Much is made of the efforts of Kardoff, Stumm, and Krupp, among others of the manufacturers' association (*Centralverband Deutscher Industrieller*), on behalf of heavy industry's conservative politics, the alliance of the *Junkers* and the industrial bourgeoisie, the "finance capitalism" of the great banks, the evolution of the chemical and electrical equipment trusts, the reformist activity of the academic socialists like Schmoller and Brentano, and the far-flung nationalist imperialist campaign of the Pan-German Union. Freely admitting that the industrial worker's lot was improving substantially during the decades 1870–1900 in terms of real wages, length of the working day, and protective legislation, Kuczynski sees these gains offset by a rising tide of industrial accidents and disease, a deterioration of the worker's housing, a pauperization of the home workers, and a speed-up in production. He attributes the ameliorations to the growing pressure from the unions and the Social Democratic party and the large-scale employer's newly conceived technique of "exploitation," designed to enhance productivity and extinguish his lesser rivals. Much fresh material is skillfully marshaled to underline the interlocking relationships between the *Junkers*, the army, the dynasty, "high finance," and heavy industry. Kuczynski has an enviable flair for the choice of sources and for relating them to his main theme, which is the bourgeois character of capitalist society and the futility of all working-class efforts at social and economic progress short of a total subversion of

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the private enterprise system which, by the ineluctable logic of his dialectic, is doomed in any case. He is very persuasive. A thralldom to a priori dogmas unhappily precludes his contemplating major noneconomic factors per se, grasping the impact of the growing divergence of interests within the working class itself, and conceding the prospect of conciliating class interests on the basis of enlightened mutual self-interest.

Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

THE ZEPPELIN IN COMBAT: A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN NAVAL AIRSHIP DIVISION, 1912–1918. By *Douglas H. Robinson.* (London: G. T. Foulis and Company; distrib. by Shoe String Press, Hamden, Conn. 1962. Pp. xiv, 417. $9.00.) Among the many technical developments of the early twentieth century, Count Zeppelin's rigid airship had an influence on the conduct of the Great War rivaling that of the machine gun and the U-boat. The actual physical damage the Germans wreaked on England was inconsequential, but the psychological impact was enormous. Long before the war the rigid airship started to score a mental victory. The British began to imitate German developments. Robinson's study is a well-told tale of the Zeppelin force under the command of Captain Peter Strasser in the North Sea. Strasser was a devout believer in his weapon and perished in a hydrogen fire when his ship was shot down on its way to raid London by a British airplane. After his demise, despite the fact that the ships were then rising to over twenty thousand feet, the airship service declined. Politics also played their part in this denouement as Hindenburg and Ludendorff managed to get manufacturing capacity shifted to the Gotha bomber program. Robinson has done a careful job in correlating the official British records with the actual logs of the German ships so that it is obvious how hazy the Germans were as to where they had been and what they had accomplished. He also brings out the seesaw battle between the defenses and the night raiders as well as the tactical and strategic results of the first strategic bombing offensive. At the same time, he does not neglect the role of the airships as naval scouts. Their influence at Jutland was again psychological. Jellicoe was afraid of them, but they actually failed to be of any use on that notable day. Robinson has filled a gap with a notable contribution to aeronautical and naval history based upon original sources.

Kansas State University ROBIN HIGHAM

ARTHUR MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK UND DER REVOLUTIONÄRE NATIONALISMUS IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Hans-Joachim Schwierskott.* [Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Geistesgeschichte, Number 1]. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1962. Pp. 202. DM 19.80.) Schwierskott's book is an informed appraisal of the "new conservative" movement and its leading ideologist during the early years of the Weimar Republic. A careful analysis of Moeller's writings is given added depth by interviews with some of his former associates such as Hans Grimm and Rudolf Pechel, and by the author's thorough knowledge of the literature, though evidently Fritz Stern's *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (1961) appeared too late to be consulted. The resulting study is sound intellectual history and at the same time presents interesting new material, for instance, membership lists of the *Herrenklub* and a bibliography of Moeller's immense literary production. Unfortunately the usefulness of the book is reduced by exceptionally poor proofreading, which passed mangled sentences and dozens of other errors in text and index. In numerous short sections the author deals with Moeller's life, his writings, his politics, and with the various conservative associations that looked to him for inspiration. The advantage of this compartmentalized treatment lies in the clear grouping of much detailed information; its disadvantage is

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that the author's interpretations, too, tend to be fragmented. For example, anti-Semitism is occasionally mentioned, and Moeller's racial theories are discussed, but a broad analysis of one of the decisive components of German conservative thought—the attitude toward the assimilated Jew—is lacking. What emerges most clearly from the book is the intellectual impoverishment of the conservative revolution. Its leaders were amateurs, marked alike by cultural atrophy and political naïveté, men so estranged from the aristocratic ideals they proclaimed that they believed organization could take the place of organic development. Schwierskott rightly distinguishes between the ideologies of Moeller and Hitler. Equally convincing is his conclusion that the new conservatives were essentially unconstructive: they did not attempt to reform the Republic; they sabotaged it.

University of California, Davis PETER PARET

HERMANN GÖRING AND THE THIRD REICH: A BIOGRAPHY BASED ON FAMILY AND OFFICIAL RECORDS. By *Charles Bewley*. (New York: Devin-Adair Company. 1962. Pp. xvi, 517. $6.50.) As minister of Eire at Berlin from 1933 to 1939, Bewley had ample opportunity to see the leaders of the Third *Reich* in action. His book, however, contains little firsthand reporting. A German version was published in 1956; the American text has substantial rearrangements and additions, particularly a chapter on "Martyrdom of Jewry" and many critical pages on the International Military Tribunal. Göring biographies, beginning with Sommerfeldt's campaign tract in 1932, show considerable agreement on the facts of Göring's life, at least to 1933; such material is naturally expanded in the postwar studies by Frischauer, and by Manvell and Fraenkel, and the present volume. Now that family and valet, peacetime and wartime colleagues, have been interviewed and reinterviewed, there is little left but to await further documentation from such sources as the NSDAP *Hauptarchiv,* or, like Bewley, to reinterpret what is known. The author's proportion of general history to biographical detail is higher than with most Göring biographers, not to the advantage of the book. The tone is quite consistently apologetic; the favorable view is ordinarily preferred whenever there may be doubt. And it must be conceded that some aspects of Göring's career are not so simply black or white as they looked twenty years ago. Hitler's "most faithful paladin" appears here as a sentimental German romantic, his mind running in the tradition of "faithful Ekkehard," young Werther, Novalis' blue flower. With the equally "romantic" egotism and narcissism, the bloated greed and pretentious toughness, the author is less concerned. Justifiably, doubts are expressed about Göring's alleged role in the *Reichstag* fire and about his influence, despite his high position, after 1942. But much that he said and did in his early years of power from 1933 on, in the Austrian crisis of 1938, even in the ambiguous Dahlerus negotiations on the eve of war, and his proved activities from 1939 to 1942, make this apologia ineffectual. Göring's talents were great—one recalls his adroit testimony and parrying at Nuremberg—his misuse of them frightful. Bewley's attack on the basis and procedures of the IMT is skillfully presented, but affected, like much of his book, by bias against England and, it appears, the Allied case generally.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

SÜDTIROL UND DIE ACHSE BERLIN-ROM, 1938–1945. By *Conrad F. Latour*. [Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1962. Pp. 158.) By the end of 1938 Hitler had "solved" most of the minority problems that had concerned him in *Mein Kampf*. One exception was the German-speaking population of the South Tirol. In general, Hitler was prepared to write off the South Tirol to win Mussolini's support and friendship. The Italians, how-

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ever, had long wanted to be rid of the troublemakers there, and Heinrich Himmler's racial policies demanded the return of all *Volksdeutschen* to the *Reich*. The result was a scheme to resettle the German minority in the expanded boundaries of the *Reich*. Much of Latour's monograph deals with the tortured negotiations to achieve resettlement. An election permitted the inhabitants to opt for Germany or Italy. Nearly 195,000 chose Germany, and 22,000 elected to remain in Italy, but less than 80,000 were actually resettled. A great variety of factors slowed the emigration to a virtual halt by 1942. The key Italian officials in the negotiations stubbornly and skillfully resisted Himmler's "radical ethnic solution," and many of the Tirolese were reluctant to abandon their homes. Many felt, as did the Italians, that the Germans, if victorious, would annex the area anyway. The South Tirol question was a barometer of German-Italian relations, and this excellent monograph illuminates that subject. The author, a lecturer at the University of Maryland in Germany, has documented his study with materials from several archives and libraries. The key documents illustrating the course of resettlement are included in appendixes. There is an excellent bibliography that illustrates well the variety of materials available to specialists in recent German history. It is objective and well written, worthy of the other excellent publications produced by that admirable organization, the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte*.

Colorado State University BRUCE B. FRYE

HITLER CONFRONTS ENGLAND. By *Walter Ansel*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 348. $7.50.) This is a first-rate account, from the German viewpoint, of Operation SEA LION, the German plan for the invasion of England. Based mainly on German records, diaries, and memoirs and on information obtained from interviews and correspondence, Admiral Ansel's book tells, in clear and vigorous fashion, the story of SEA LION, from the raising of the landing question in November 1939 to the indefinite postponement of the operation in mid-October 1940. The planning is described in some detail, as are the preparations that were made for mounting the invasion. The author makes much of the psychology of Hitler and how his decisions were reached, stressing his uncertainty and vacillation in naval matters, his complacent hopes of an early settlement with England, his preference for siege by air and sea against England, his lack of conviction in the success of any attempt to invade England, and his overriding compulsion to crush Russia. The author brings out the rivalry at the top for the favor of Hitler, the lack of close planning among the service chiefs, and the scant understanding the Germans had of the nature of amphibious warfare, with the army seeing a landing, not as a shore-to-shore assault, but as a mighty river crossing, and the navy viewing its role far too much as one of transport. The shift in thinking from siege to the possibility of invasion is discussed, as are also the designation of the Channel shore for the landing, rather than places on the east and southeast coasts, and the clash between the army and the navy over the broad versus the narrow front issue. Ansel describes the plan as it finally emerged in September 1940 and analyzes it in terms of the state of readiness and capability reached by September 27. As a naval officer with experience in amphibious warfare, he concludes that "Execution of operation *Sea Lion* on 27 September 1940 as set up held the sole prospect of major German disaster." But then he adds that with "correction of a few major misconceptions, the German arms could have invaded England."

University of Michigan HOWARD M. EHRMANN

DER FELDZUG GEGEN SOWJETRUSSLAND, 1941 BIS 1945: EIN OPERATIVER ÜBERBLICK. By *Alfred Philippi* and *Ferdinand Heim*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohl-

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hammer Verlag. 1962. Pp. 293. DM 24.) Now that several of the senior officers of the German high command, such as von Manstein (*Verlorene Siege*), Paulus (*Ich stehe hier auf Befehl*), and others have had their day in print, other military writers are still working over the records to rehabilitate the reputations of the professionals where possible by shifting the responsibility for failure to the drooping shoulders of the amateur strategists who drove the soldiers to their doom. The authors of this history of the campaign against Soviet Russia concede that Hitler had a broader conception of geopolitical objectives than the generals had, but simply demanded of his armed forces more than men could do. They say that they realized this before they went into Russia; coauthor Heim comments that despite his vaunted will power Hitler had not the strength of will to face the facts. Among the words that recur most frequently are references to the *Schlammzeit* and to Hitler's *Unbelehrbarkeit.* Even the docile von Kluge burst out at Hitler at least once: "Then you bear the responsibility." One feature of this book that the lay reader will find bewildering if he tries to remember everything is its statistics: frequent listing of the tables of organization and unit groupings, unit numbers, satellite divisions, and periodic summaries of losses and only partial replacements. The authors seem to believe, incidentally, that the discussion of the advisability of a break out from Stalingrad or of a rescue was continued long after the possibility of such an operation had ceased to exist. Little is said of the contribution made by those sacrificed at Stalingrad to the withdrawal from the Caucasus. After Stalingrad everything was anticlimax, with Hitler governed by his fear of the political consequences of retreat—his *Prestigewahn,* the authors call it—despite the senseless loss of life and land. In 1944 the German west front had the priority, in 1945 the east. The turning point, they say, was not Stalingrad but before Moscow in autumn 1941.

University of Wisconsin CHESTER V. EASUM

JAKOBINER IN DER HABSBURGER-MONARCHIE: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES AUFGEKLÄRTEN ABSOLUTISMUS IN ÖSTERREICH. By *Denis Silagi.* [Wiener historische Studien, Number 6.] (Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1962. Pp. 247.) Dr. Silagi's admirable monograph is unlikely to need supplementing. Together with his recent brief study, *Ungarn und der geheime Mitarbeiterkreis Kaiser Leopolds II* (1961), this book gives in text, footnotes, and very complete bibliography a clear, thorough, and readable coverage of "Jacobinism" in the Habsburg dominions. The book centers, as it must, on the career of Ignaz von Martinovics, Hungarian-born priest and convert to advanced enlightenment, actually for a time an agent of the Emperor Leopold. But the whole background and course of the Jacobin "conspiracies" in Budapest and Vienna are here ably described and analyzed. Silagi's command of the Magyar tongue has opened to him a whole literature closed to most Westerners. Historians in Communist Europe have, willingly or unwillingly, taken the Marxist party line toward these first revolutionary stirrings in the Habsburg dominions. Notably Kálmán Benda has published in three big volumes a useful collection of documents on the "Martinovics conspiracy," many of them in German, French, or Latin, with a long introduction of his own in Magyar. A condensed French version of this introduction is in the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* for January–March 1959. The current Communist party line does not precisely make Martinovics and his fellows good Marxists, but it does make him a hero, and the whole movement a fine anticipation of better revolutions to come. Silagi, on the strength of most careful examination of the record, finds Martinovics a frustrated intellectual with a long record of failure and indeed dishonest pretensions as scientist and scholar, a frocked secularist, a kind of Danubian Marat (the comparison is not Silagi's, but mine). These Jacobins of the

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Habsburg dominions seem to Silagi good children of the Enlightenment, a tiny minority, motivated in various ways, often rather discreditable ways, and neither heroes nor, for that matter, very effective conspirators. To use R. R. Palmer's term, Silagi's is a "dissociationist" interpretation of the relation between an eighteenth-century radical movement and the successful Communist revolutions of our time. It is a valuable corrective to our usual American assumption that underdogs are always good dogs.

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

DIE NS-JUSTIZ IN ÖSTERREICH UND IHRE OPFER. By *Maria Szecsi* and *Karl Stadler*. [Sammlung Das einsame Gewissen, Number 1.] (Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1962. Pp. 126. Sch. 48.) This book, the first of a series dealing with Austria under German occupation, concerns itself with four related topics: the administration of political justice in Austria by the Nazis, the fate of the victims of this justice, the extent of the Austrian resistance, and the motivations of the resisters. It is based almost entirely upon Nazi court records available in Austria. The authors avowedly intend their book to be both a chronicle of events and a weapon against a revival of National Socialism or of interest in *Anschluss* with Germany. The first two topics are handled very successfully; the last two are not dealt with so convincingly. In their introduction, the authors state that the great majority of Austrians always opposed Hitler and hint in various places that there was far more opposition in Austria than in Bismarck's *Reich*. These contentions may be true, but the book does not prove either the statement or the implication. There is evidence of resistance but not of its extent. Finally, in approaching the always difficult problem of motivation the material presented does not support the authors' assertion that the essential aim of the resisters was an independent Austria nor the implication that the resisters were essentially democratic in nature. The Communists, who played a very significant role in the resistance, seem unlikely heroes of democracy, as do some of the Rightists. Similarly, the dedication of the Communists and various other groups to an independent Austria is at best unproven. In short, in many instances there is no evidence that the resistance was based on national identity rather than on religious or moral convictions or even on mere war weariness. Despite the failure of the material always to justify the claims of the authors, this short monograph is a welcome addition to the materials for the history of Austria in the Third *Reich* and an example confirming the thesis that in a totalitarian state the courts become simply weapons of the rulers against opposition.

University of Massachusetts HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

CRISTOFORO DA CANAL: LA MARINE VÉNITIENNE AVANT LÉPANTE. By *Alberto Tenenti*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e^ Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1962. Pp. xv, 209.) Tenenti maintains that mid-sixteenth-century Venetian naval history epitomizes the failure of the Venetian nobility to transform their city into a modern state. These rulers, competent as Lane has shown they were in building ships, were inept in managing the fleet that guarded their far-flung island and coastal possessions. They lacked sufficient vision to adapt the most suitable kinds of ships, were too feeble as rulers to recruit or conscript enough paid oarsmen (they resorted to convict labor), and too poor to build enough good ships and provide decent working conditions on them. Increasingly, Venetian nobles proved to be insubordinate and unscrupulous as ship captains. For these and other reasons, the republic could not control the Christian and Moslem pirates who were preying on Venetian commerce. During these mid-*cinquecento* decades the nobles were unaware of their failure in forming a state; as Gaetano Cozzi has shown, they arrived at this awareness only in the

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early seventeenth century. This is a solid, interesting study, and Tenenti is the all too-rare kind of scholar who tries continually to relate the subject of his monograph to general trends. Yet one wonders if he has not overemphasized the degree to which a failure to effect naval reforms is symptomatic of a larger failure in state building. Also, the figure around whom he constructs much of his study—a Venetian admiral who urged naval reforms—was too shadowy an individual to merit even semibiographical treatment. He does not, furthermore, represent the mentality of the nobles who were failing to make the necessary changes. Finally, Tenenti seems unfair when he passes harsh judgment on these nobles. No doubt they were provincial and lacking in vision, but because this book concentrates largely on the need for reforms and very little on the process by which decisions were made in the doge's palace, it might have been better to temper this judgment. The book will interest students of the questions of Mediterranean history that have been raised by Fernand Braudel, the ways in which European states were formed, free and forced labor, ships and navies, and technology.

University of Pennsylvania JAMES C. DAVIS

L'APPORTO DELLE MARCHE AL RISORGIMENTO NAZIONALE: ATTI DEL CONGRESSO DI STORIA, 29–30 SETTEMBRE–2 OTTOBRE 1960. (Ancona: Comitato marchigiano per le celebrazioni del centenario dell'Unità d'Italia; distrib. by Leo S. Olschki, Florence. 1961. Pp. 475.) The fundamental thread of the *Risorgimento* in the Papal States was constituted by the Liberal "passion" to destroy the temporal power in order to transform the secular defects of the Church's *societas perfecta* into the free and modern foundations of a national *novus ordo*. The continuity of that "passion" and the logic of that transformation are developed as the two major variations on the central theme adopted by the "political" historians at the congress held in the fall of 1960 to celebrate the contributions of the Marche to the *Risorgimento*. Each in his specializing fashion, Vittorio Giuntella, Aldo Berselli, and Giovanni Maioli, elaborates upon aspects of the basic assumption at the congress: the apparent convertibility of Italian "local" struggles for freedom during the *Risorgimento* almost exclusively into manifestations of Liberal faith and of this, in turn, into the instrument of Italian "national" politics. All too successfully, Carlo Bo delimits the cultural range of the Liberal "passion" by a critique on the "escape to the commonplace" represented by most of the patriotic literature produced in the "provinces" after the death of Leopardi. From another direction, Luigi Dal Pane likewise restricts the sweep of modernizing nationalism by calling attention to the slowness of economic and social change in a region that was still polarized between the limited commercial activity of the maritime cities and the relative immobility of the agricultural hinterland. Raffaele Molinelli seeks nevertheless to reinforce the central theme by his emphasis on the "fusion" of the bourgeois and aristocratic leadership of the national Revolution and the active consensus of "the popular classes." In a technical but enlightening paper, General Renato Eugenio Righi succeeds in illustrating the plausibility, if not quite in demonstrating the validity, of the operative historical hypothesis of the congress. The liberation of the Marche, assured in September 1860 by the Piedmontese victory of Castelfidardo over the papal mercenaries, was made possible, in Righi's view, by the combined force of national, professional soldiers and local, indigenous "armed bands" apparently not unlike those which, earlier during that same *annus mirabilis,* had aided Garibaldi in the liberation of the South.

University of Rochester A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI (1809–1889): CLERC, GARIBALDIEN, PRÉDICANT DES DEUX MONDES. In two volumes. By *Robert Sylvain*. (Quebec: Centre Péda-

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gogique. 1962. Pp. viii, 280; 288–587.) The subject of this exhaustive study is a prime example of what Giorgio Spini has termed the *guazzabuglio mentale* that seized so many minds after Pius IX's supposed betrayal of the liberals. This mishmash of notions concerning the apocalyptic nature of an Italian rebirth had earlier origins, but it was only after 1849 that it began to be identified as somehow Protestant or evangelical by such confused true believers as Gavazzi. A man of few ideas and very little sense, Gavazzi was a fanatic possessed of a formidable power of oratory, which he first used as a Barnabite preacher and later as a proponent of violent actions. His disillusionment with Pius IX caused him to leave the priesthood and to undertake a remarkable career of waging war on the papacy and Catholicism. In his exile in England, he found an eager audience among the many who were infuriated by the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and among those so traditionally Italophile that they were intent upon making Italy a Protestant nation. Coming to the United States in 1853, he was immediately a protégé of the Know-Nothings and frequently addressed huge audiences in New York and Philadelphia. To the dismay of the Italian exiles in this country, Gavazzi's repetitious diatribes won few friends for Italy, but succeeded in strengthening the convictions of all antiforeign and anti-Catholic elements. Speaking in Montreal, ostensibly to counter Orestes Brownson's encouragement of the Irish, Gavazzi was the cause of a riot that ended in bloodshed. His long but essentially negative career included a brief association with Garibaldi in 1860, but for the next twenty-nine years of his life he succeeded only in establishing the feeble Free Christian Church at a place in Rome almost exactly across the river from the enemy that he himself had never really defeated.

Northwestern University GEORGE T. ROMANI

STORIA DEGLI EBREI ITALIANI SOTTO IL FASCISMO. By *Renzo De Felice*. Preface by *Delio Cantimori*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, Number 68.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1961. Pp. xxxix, 697.) The author of this pioneering and very able study of Italian Jewry under Mussolini's regime is a young historian who handles his subject matter objectively and unemotionally. De Felice has carried on diligent research in the Italian Central State Archives, the Historical Archives of the Foreign Ministry, and the archives of the Israelite Community of Rome and the Union of Italian Israelite Communities. Although there is some unevenness (the earlier years tend to be better documented than the armed resistance era of World War II), the author has produced a generally admirable work of synthesis that provides much new information about one of the most important latter-day aspects of Mussolini's regime. "Anti-Semitic persecution and alliance with Nazi Germany—the combination was inseparable—were the premises for the war and for the end of Fascism: here, then, is the double motive for [my] choice [of topic]," De Felice explains. The study is split into two equal parts, with 1938 as the turning point. Prior to that time Italian Jews were divided in their attitudes to Mussolini's dictatorship. But when the *Duce*, egged on by Giovanni Preziosi, Roberto Farinacci, and others, began to ape Hitler's policies toward the Jews, they turned solidly against the Fascist regime. Yet seldom was it "Jewish anti-Fascism" as such. Most Italian Jews preferred to resist within the framework of the underground political currents. The first half of the book consists of five chapters that describe the situation of the Italian Jews at the time of Mussolini's advent to power; the decade of adjustment (1922–1932); the internal changes in Italian Fascism after Hitler's rise in Germany; Zionism and Fascist foreign policy; and the worsening of the crisis after the Ethiopian war. Part II consists of three long chapters: the preparation of anti-Semitic measures (January–November 1938); the Fascist persecution; and the Nazi extermination policies (of 7,495 Jews deported from Italy between 1943 and 1945, only 610 survived the death camps). In addition, there are more than one hundred pages of documents and a long introduc-

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tory essay by Professor Delio Cantimori who, though generally praising De Felice's study, corrects some oversimplifications regarding the causes of anti-Semitism.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

HUNGARY: A SHORT HISTORY. By *C. A. Macartney.* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1962. Pp. ix, 262. $4.50.) An ominous jacket design, composed of the *Doppeladler,* the Hunyadi raven, and, of course, the holy crown of St. Stephen, offers little preparation for a book that is surely the best account to date of Hungarian history in English. Concise though it is, and it can be tantalizing in the brevity of its references to things like the "Hungarian national psychology," it covers the whole evolution of Hungary in equal depth and without betraying any misplaced favoritism for a particular period. Political history, and that largely devoted to personalities and nationalities, dominates the scene; references to the intellectual and social underpinnings of events appear only when there seems to be an easily demonstrable connection between them. Professor Macartney, the great expositor of things Hungarian to the Anglo-Saxon world, has already demonstrated his mastery of Hungary's most distant and most recent past; he now reveals a similar mastery of the historical space, so often terra incognita, that lies in between. He presents the most controversial questions in Hungarian historiography with a rare lucidity and balance. The reader is obviously encouraged to come to his own conclusions. Macartney's view, when it does appear, and that is infrequently, is said to be an "unromantic" one, but, at the same time, he avoids the extreme of the demythologizing method. He presents no thesis, no general theory of Hungary's history (some will believe this to be a grievous omission), but is content to recount in almost Thucydidean accents the dramatic story of the sudden appearance of an Asiatic people, the Magyars, on the European scene, their acclimatization and survival there, and more recently their imprisonment by that "East on which they had turned their backs when Árpád led them across the Carpathians, more than 1,000 years ago."

Harvard University WILLIAM B. SLOTTMAN

VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA ROSSII XIX I NACHALA XX VEKA: DOKUMENTY ROSSIISKOGO MINISTERSTVA INOSTRANNYKH DEL [*Foreign Policy of Russia, 19th and Early 20th Centuries: Documents of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*]. First Series, 1801–1815. Volume II, APREL' 1804G.–DEKABR' 1805G. [April 1804–December 1805]. Edited by *A. L. Narochnitskii et al.* (Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature. 1961. Pp. 742.) This volume is a simple continuation of the first [see *AHR,* LXVII (July 1962), 1110], employing the same plan of organization and the same meticulous care in the matter of annotations, cross references, and indexing. Only in content is it different. Whereas the first volume covered the first three years of the reign of Alexander I, this one deals with the subsequent more exciting year and a half, including Austerlitz. That "most desperate and murderous" battle was promptly reported in identical terms to the Russian envoys in Berlin and in London, and the latter was cautioned that Austria's withdrawal from the war would automatically release Russia from its engagements, which bound that country "*to act only in concert with Austria* [italics in text]." The table of contents lists 210 full-length documents, some of which, however, have previously appeared elsewhere. In addition, there are cross references to 96 previously published documents. Some drafts, not listed in the table of contents, may, by use of the index, be found buried in notes. Since the negotiations in connection with the coalition dominated this period of Russian diplomacy, in this volume about half the documents either originated in or were addressed to Berlin or Vienna. Constantinople and the Ionian Islands, though still accounting for nearly a fifth

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of the total, barely outnumber those relating to Great Britain, which hold far greater interest. The non-European world naturally receives little attention. The Caucasus and Central Asia appear briefly, but there is only the scantest mention of China, Japan, and Alaska. Satisfaction is expressed that Napoleon had already spent all the money he received for Louisiana. The United States appears in two connections. There is a letter from Emperor Alexander to President Jefferson, who, grateful for Russian aid in securing release of an American vessel seized by Tripoli, had offered Russian merchants most-favored-nation privileges. In this letter, dated January 1, 1805 (N.S.), the Autocrat of All the Russias graciously avowed that he had always "nourished a high respect for your nation, which has known how to make the most noble use of its independence by adopting a free and wise constitution assuring the happiness of all and of each individual." The other item is a memorandum of March 2, 1805, from Alexander to his minister plenipotentiary in Naples, instructing him to get in touch with the commander of a squadron of "the American united provinces," which had been detaining Russian merchant ships, "and try pacifically to turn him away from such impermissible acts, which are bound in time to lead to greater displeasures," even to an unwelcome rupture.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

DIE HISTORISCHE RECHTSSCHULE RUSSLANDS: EIN BEITRAG ZUR RUSSISCHEN GEISTESGESCHICHTE IN DER ZWEITEN HÄLFTE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Klaus-Detlev Grothusen*. [Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, First Series. Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, Number 18.] (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag. 1962. Pp. 261. DM 21.) The author presents S. M. Soloviëv, K. D. Kavelin, and B. N. Chicherin, emphasizing the role of the clan, the family, private law, and the state in their delineations of Russian history. Among "the younger generation" he depicts I. E. Zabelin, F. M. Dmitriev, V. I. Sergeevich, A. D. Gradovskii, and F. I. Leontovich in considerable detail and treats others briefly. The breadth of the volume is reflected in useful chapters on previous research, on early Russian historiography, and on judgments by other historians, including the analysis of such as M. P. Pogodin, K. N. Bestuzhev-Riumin, N. I. Kostomarov, A. P. Shchapov, M. O. Koialovich, V. O. Kliuchevskii, M. N. Pokrovskii, and N. L. Rubinshtein. Attention throughout to the influence of Hegel, Herder, and others enhances the work. Narrowness is reflected in the treatment of F. K. von Savigny. That major exponent of the historical school of jurisprudence ("die historische Rechtsschule") in Germany earns only two references, one to the degree of acceptance of his views by Chicherin and another to his relationship to subsequent German scholars. Of the Russian scholars who studied law at the University of Berlin in the thirties when Savigny's influence was at its height, only two are mentioned, P. G. Redkin and N. I. Krylov, both without reference to their sojourn in Berlin. In sum, jurisprudence is little treated. Perhaps Grothusen is making special use of the term "die historische Rechtsschule." In that case, he should have defined his use. In any event, such facts as Kavelin's concern with common law and his close links with Krylov suggest the influence of Savigny. Despite these criticisms, this informative book with its substantial bibliography and index should be on the shelves of every historian of Russia.

University of Kansas OSWALD P. BACKUS III

RUSSKAIA ISTORIOGRAFIIA V PERIOD IMPERIALIZMA: KURS LEKTSII [Russian Historiography in the Period of Imperialism: A Course of Lectures]. By *Aleksandr L. Shapiro*. (Leningrad: Publishing House of Leningrad University. 1962. Pp. 234.) Owing to the dearth of textbook and monographic attention on the subject

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of A. L. Shapiro's book there is, according to the author, insufficient material for students specializing in the historiography of the peoples of the USSR. This course of lectures concentrates on Russian work, to the exclusion of other peoples in the Soviet Union, because separate textbooks on non-Russian historians are in preparation. Although Lenin is the principal and the first significant figure in founding the Soviet science of historiographical interpretation, Shapiro believes students should have a background in the bourgeois historiography of the period of imperialism to understand the conceptions Lenin overturned. The number of lectures (sixteen) corresponds to the number of hours devoted to the topic in the course outline for historiography of the USSR. The lectures are neatly organized to aid the student, each lecture concluding with a concise summary of the points made. A major feature of bourgeois historiography was that it accepted multiple factors as explanation of historical development. In Lenin's phrase, bourgeois historians could not see the forest for the trees. After an opening lecture looking back over the work of S. M. Soloviëv, V. O. Kliuchevskii, and others, a series of lectures takes up such well-known historians as P. N. Miliukov, A. S. Lappo-Danilevskii, M. M. Bogoslovskii, A. A. Kizevetter, S. F. Platonov, the early work of B. D. Grekov, N. P. Pavlov-Silvanskii, A. E. Presniakov, A. A. Shakhmatov, V. I. Semevskii, and G. V. Plekhanov. The penultimate lecture on the Marxist views and the ideological errors of M. N. Pokrovskii is followed by a double-period treatment of Lenin and the revolution in Russian historiography he created. One is tempted to say that Lenin's great success as a historian, that is, his ability to see the forest in spite of the trees, was that he only recognized one tree anyway. But a student primed with this book has a capsuled knowledge of the leading modern pre-1917 Russian historians.

Oregon State University GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

THE IMPACT OF SOVIET POLICIES IN ARMENIA. By *Mary Kilbourne Matossian*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1962. Pp. x, 239. Gld. 21.) In recent years there has been considerable interest in the Armenian people and Armenia, and a number of valuable studies have been published in Western languages on various phases of Armenian history. But this well-conceived and carefully prepared doctoral dissertation by Mrs. Matossian is the first study of the impact of the Soviet system on the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural life in Soviet Armenia. Even before the Russian Revolution the Armenian family, village community, rural economy, and the Church's paramount authority in the country were waging a losing battle against the inevitable urbanization, centralization, and secularization. When the Communists became masters of the land late in 1920, they inherited a chaotic but fluid society. Still their task of undermining, discrediting, and, finally, demolishing the traditional, long-venerated institutions was not an easy one. In the end, after more than three decades of long and uphill struggle, they owed their triumph on the social, economic, political, and educational fronts not only to the terrible means that they employed mercilessly, but also to the astute way they identified their realistic policies with traditional Armenian values, such as national literature, culture, even nationalism. Although she primarily planned this as a sociopolitical study, the author has dug deeply into a large variety of publications in several languages (including Armenian and Russian), and, even though at times she used certain tendentious Armenian publications somewhat indiscriminately, her conclusions cannot be seriously challenged.

Library of Congress A. O. SARKISSIAN

THE SOVIET HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II: MYTHS, MEMORIES, AND REALITIES. By *Matthew P. Gallagher*. [Praeger Publications in Russian History and

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World Communism, Number 121.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1963. Pp. xvi, 205. Cloth $6.00, paper $1.95.) This short and eminently readable book traces the fluctuations of the Soviet propaganda line in relation to World War II. As the author states in the foreword, the book is limited neither to the Soviet historiography nor to the military history of this period, but deals primarily with "the psychological and emotional conflicts generated within Soviet society by the mendacious account of the war given out in Soviet postwar propaganda." Perhaps the book's most original scholarly contribution is the author's analysis of the velleities of rebellion on the part of the Soviet literary craftsmen, faced by the demands of their art in conflict with the official line imposed from above. This is shown both in scattered and well-documented references and examples throughout the book, especially in the chapter on "The Writers and the War" and in the chapter section "The Literary Postlude." Yet fully as interesting for the professional reader will be the author's presentation of a similar resistance to outside authority manifested by the academic Soviet historiographers and military historians, springing from the specialist's basic integrity when concerned with his own technical field. Despite the readability of the book, the impatient reader may tend to become confused by its somewhat intricate planning, by the abundance of materials, and the necessarily shifting nature of the subject itself—that is, the shifting lines of Soviet propaganda. I therefore recommend the reading of the excellent, clarifying conclusion first. The book, of interest both to the professional and to the layman, uses a wealth of primary and secondary sources. These are indicated in the notes and in the working bibliography.

University of California, Santa Barbara EDMOND MASSON

NEAR EAST

JOSEPH KARO: LAWYER AND MYSTIC. By *R. J. Zwi Werblowsky*. [Scripta Judaica, Number 4.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 315. $10.10.) Joseph Karo (1488–1575), scion of a long line of distinguished scholars, left Spain with his family in 1492 as a result of the expulsion of the Jews from that area and settled finally in Adrianople where he became chief rabbi. From Adrianople he moved to Safed where he stayed for over thirty years until his death in 1575 and helped, together with an illustrious group of scholars, to make Safed the chief center of Jewish scholarship and piety of the time. Karo is generally known as the author of *Beth Joseph* and of the *Shulhan Aruck* (*Arranged Table*), that embodiment of Jewish law, *Halacha,* which has become the standard work of religious practice and conduct for Jews from the sixteenth century on, the most normative, authoritative, and binding code of Jewish law until today. It is generally not recognized that this great Talmudic authority, this rationalistic thinker and jurist, was at the same time a great mystic and cabalist who had composed a remarkable and rather unique mystical book called *Maggid Mesharim.* This work, an unusually interesting source for the understanding of Karo's dual and complex personality as a Talmudist and mystic, is the subject of Werblowsky's profound and stimulating investigation. After having placed Karo against the background of the spiritual life of sixteenth-century Safed and having dealt extensively with the life of Karo, his peregrinations, his stay in Safed and in the Holy Land, the author investigates all the religious, mystical, and psychological problems of this diary in lengthy chapters such as "The Halakhah of the Maggid," "The Doctrine of Sefiroth," "The Living Garment of the Deity: Shekinah," and "Man and His Soul." Equipped with an astounding wealth of philological, rabbinical, and psychological knowledge,

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Werblowsky guides the reader through the complexities of this *Maggid Mesharim* with a sure hand and, at the same time, opens a wide field for the understanding of the pre-Lurianic cabala of the Safed Jewish center in general. The book is a challenging and thought-provoking analysis of Karo's work and personality, a brilliant masterpiece of scholarly investigation.

University of California, Berkeley WALTER J. FISCHEL

AFRICA

THE EAST AFRICAN COAST: SELECT DOCUMENTS FROM THE FIRST TO THE EARLIER NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 314. $5.60.) The documents collected here in English translations are from a variety of languages and in obscure publications. Freeman-Grenville has greatly facilitated the study of East African history by providing us with the results of years of his own searching. Some of the translations are also his. Each document is preceded by a brief statement giving the author, if known, the date, to the closest approximation possible, the identity of the translator, and a history of the document. Every extant document from the period before A.D. 1500 is given. It is significant that only thirteen documents, which require only thirty-three pages, date from this period. It is true that some of the later documents refer back to that time, but this scarcity clearly indicates the importance of archaeology and other unwritten sources for the history of this area.

Boston University DANIEL F. MCCALL

HISTORY OF ZANZIBAR: FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO 1856. By *John Gray.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 314. $6.90.) The author, long known as an authority on the subject, has produced a definitive work on the history of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. He has drawn upon an imposing array of published literature and much hitherto unexploited manuscript material in the Zanzibar Archives, which he was instrumental in establishing, the British Museum, the London Public Record Office, the Rhodes House Library in Oxford, the Mauritius Government Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. The author's attempt to sketch in history prior to the time indicated in the title reveals the almost complete lack of archaeological evidence about the prehistory of Zanzibar and Pemba and the extremely fragmentary nature of documentary evidence to A.D. 1500. The period of Portuguese possession from 1498 to 1698 is relatively much better documented, inviting speculation about how much more would be revealed by intensive study of Portuguese archival materials. Zanzibar, one of the better havens for trade on the east coast of Africa, has never been more than of marginal importance to Indian, Arabian, and European interests and is shown in this book to have been subject to a desultory succession of violent raids and conquests. Interwoven into the account is much history about other parts of the east coast of Africa and the Indian Ocean, as well as of European influences in that area. The second part of the book is virtually a biography of Said bin Sultan, the ruler of Oman, who dominated Zanzibar and Pemba from shortly after the Napoleonic Wars until his death in 1856. His relationships with representatives of France, Germany, Portugal, Britain, and the United States, which established the first of the consulates in Zanzibar in 1837, are carefully analyzed. The portrayal of his character, especially in regard to the slave trade, is balanced, while

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sympathetic, and must be one of the best of all accounts of a historic individual of this part of the world. Innumerable footnotes are avoided by citing authorities for each chapter; while this device undoubtedly eases reading, it may make use of the volume for related studies more difficult.

Library of Congress CONRAD C. REINING

SIDNEY WEBB AND EAST AFRICA: LABOUR'S EXPERIMENT WITH THE DOCTRINE OF NATIVE PARAMOUNTCY. By *Robert G. Gregory*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 183. $3.50.) Recent events in the declining British Empire have given dramatic emphasis to the importance of policies pertaining to the natives as well as to European and other immigrant groups in dependent areas. By 1920 Kenya had become an ideological crossroads in terms of native policy. One policy based on the old Durham tradition called for an increase in self-government for the colonists, and another was supported by the humanitarians who contended, in view of their interest in the native peoples, that the British government should retain control. In order to prevent East African policy from following the course of that in South Africa, the humanitarians felt that a new experiment in colonial policy should be tried in an effort to achieve harmony among the different groups in a multiracial colony. This book is more than just a study of Sidney Webb and the Labour government's experiment with the doctrine of native paramountcy. Rather it is a comprehensive and analytical account of British imperial travail over native policy in East Africa, and especially in Kenya, from 1920 through 1931. After introducing his topic, the author considers the declaration of the doctrine of native paramountcy in 1923, the rise of the dual policy, 1924–1929, the reaffirmation of native paramountcy in 1930, the work of the parliamentary joint committee in 1931, and then presents an appraisal of the doctrine of paramountcy. The analysis of Sidney Webb, his policy, his relation to the Labour government, and his role in the Kenya struggle over native paramountcy is fascinating and valuable. In masterful fashion the author summarizes the reasons for the seeming failure of the policy, but suggests that the primary one may have been the fact that it was premature. He poses the thesis that, although the doctrine was somewhat unique in the history of British colonial policy, it did appear as a logical step in the evolution of that policy. He suggests that the events of the 1950's and constitutional changes since 1960 perhaps indicate that the humanitarian approach involved in native paramountcy may be after all the only practical long-range policy. If so, the doctrine may assume a new importance in British colonial history. He argues that the rejection of the doctrine by the European settlers is not unrelated to the rise of the Mau Mau conspiracy and other native disturbances in Kenya, even though many other factors also contributed to those difficulties. This book is well organized, succinctly but interestingly written, and has all the earmarks of sound historical scholarship. This excellent work is the first successful effort to trace in detail the rise and fall of the native paramountcy doctrine in East Africa and to appraise it historically.

University of Cincinnati GARLAND G. PARKER

MODERN LIBYA: A STUDY IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Majid Khadduri*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1963. Pp. vii, 404. $7.50.) The political divisions of the Eurasian continent are, for the most part, the result of long historical evolution; the boundaries that separate them seldom run in straight lines. But in the Americas and in Africa, divisions are often the result of external influences, most of all, especially in Africa, of the confluence of European colonial interests and of the admin-

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istrative arrangements of the colonial powers. Following the First World War precedent, defeated Italy was deprived of its empire, the parts of which were set on the road to eventual independence. The present shape of Libya was thus determined by Italian imperial activity: the acquisition of Tripoli and Cyrenaica from Turkey in 1912, and the southern extension of the Fezzan ceded by France in 1935. Thus Libya came to consist of three parts, highly unequal in importance. Tripolitania accounts for some two-thirds of the whole, but the fact that resistance to Italian control was most active among the Cyrenaican Senusi caused their leader to become the head of the state, as King Idris, once it had been decided that the whole should constitute a single unit. Thus the story surveyed in this book has two aspects. The first is the formation of the state, combined result of internal conditions and of external circumstances; the outcome was the adoption of a federal solution, the United Kingdom of Libya. The other is the functioning of the new state in independence. The transition to full independence was completed by 1951; it was relatively smooth, and the United Nations, represented by the able Adrian Pelt, facilitated the process. The state since then has enjoyed greater stability than most other Arab countries, though the stresses of internal politics have not been stranger to its functioning. A measure of guided democracy has been the solution. An Arab state, Libya has naturally given high priority to its relations with other Arab states, but it has contrived to maintain satisfactory relations with the West as well; navigating between the two has not always been an easy matter. Libya remains a poor country, but the discovery of oil resources furnishes the best prospect of modernization and development. This country provides an interesting case study of the manner in which a new state can take its place in the modern world; the question remains of whether or not it may become part of a larger unit. The story is excellently done by its well-qualified author.

Barnard College RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

AFRICAN ONE-PARTY STATES. By *Charles F. Gallagher et al.* Edited by *Gwendolen M. Carter.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 501. $7.25.) The variety of political practice in the independent states of Africa suggests to the editor of this volume that reconsideration is needed for some comparative government concepts, such as dictatorship and totalitarianism, which have been developed largely out of studies of American and European governments. Using the criterion of a state dominated by a single political party, six African cases have been selected: Tunisia, Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Tanganyika. Each contributor—one French, and five from the United States—has modified a common outline in order to present information about political history, land and people, contemporary political processes and issues, and external relations. Limitation to a small number is highly commendable, for many more of Africa's independent countries could have been included. In contrast to many recent symposia which, in their attempts to cover too much of Africa, are superficial or uneven, the accounts in this book are substantial and uniformly authoritative. This volume is exploratory: in addition to broadening our knowledge of political behavior, it is intended to present new or redesigned political forms and ideas for theoretical comparison and consideration. It can be expected to stimulate further studies of one-party states and the development of theory about them, but the vast and rapidly changing data about the political structures of African states cannot be accommodated readily in the present symposium form. A series of case study booklets would better allow for supplementation and revision. The studies in this work are clearly of importance not only to scholars of political science and modern history, but also as reference sources for many levels and purposes, especially since the countries were

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selected because of the scarcity of accounts in English of their general characteristics and political structures.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF OGYŪ SORAI. By *J. R. McEwan.* [University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, Number 7.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 153. $7.50.) This book consists primarily of translations of selected passages from the two memorials that Ogyū Sorai prepared: the *Seidan* and *Taiheisaku.* A brief discussion of Sorai's Confucian doctrines is presented in the introduction, and numerous introductory notes by McEwan are interspersed within the translations. A random comparison with the original reveals some major errors. On the whole, however, McEwan handles an exceedingly difficult task of translation satisfactorily. Omissions in a given paragraph should have been more judiciously indicated. Criteria for the selection of the passages are not made explicit. The content of the translation gives an informative, albeit disorganized and fragmentary, description of the various aspects of Tokugawa society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The book makes available to those who do not read Japanese valuable source material hitherto unavailable except in a very limited scope. This is a valuable contribution. A greater familiarity with and incorporation of the fruits of Japanese scholarship would have enhanced the usefulness of McEwan's study.

Vanderbilt University YOUNG C. KIM

THE RYOTWARI SYSTEM IN MADRAS, 1792–1827. By *Nilmani Mukherjee.* Foreword by *N. K. Sinha.* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1962. Pp. xviii, 397. Rs. 20.) A most welcome and valuable addition to the relatively neglected area of British Indian economic history, Mukherjee's monograph is a comprehensive analysis, the first such available in print, of the land tenure system adopted by the British raj in Madras between 1792 and 1827. The author has used all available records and documents preserved in the English language in London and India and is to be congratulated on the thoroughness of his scholarly research. The book is divided into three major sections: a chronological consideration of "The Origin and Development of the Ryotwari System" between its limited introduction in 1792 by Colonel Alexander Read (Cornwallis' appointee as collector of Baramahal and Salem after the Third Anglo-Mysore War) and the death of its later champion, Sir Thomas Munro (governor of Madras) in 1827; a fascinating and detailed explanation of "The Organization of the Ryotwari System," which includes a topical consideration of the survey, the settlement, the accounts, and the personnel involved in the ryotwari system; and a section on "The Impact of the Ryotwari System," examining the broader economic, social, and administrative ramifications of this technique of directly taxing peasant proprietors (ryots) rather than landowning intermediaries (zamindars) or entire villages (village lease system). Mukherjee concludes that introduction of the ryotwari system did little to ameliorate the economic distress of the Madras peasantry, though it was generally more efficient than earlier methods of tax collection and hence yielded more revenue for the raj. Interestingly enough, practically no change in the social fabric of village life resulted from this system, but it exerted significant influence on the administrative pattern of Madras in the early nineteenth century. A useful glossary, a select bibliography, and an accurate index are appended.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY A. WOLPERT

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AN EMBASSY TO CHINA: BEING THE JOURNAL KEPT BY LORD MACARTNEY DURING HIS EMBASSY TO THE EMPEROR CH'IEN-LUNG, 1793–1794. Edited with an introduction and notes by *J. L. Cranmer-Byng*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1963. Pp. xvi, 421. $7.50.) Macartney's embassy to China is significant as England's first attempt to gain access to the court in Peking and thus expand trade beyond the confines of Canton. Truncated versions of Macartney's day-to-day journal appeared earlier, once in 1807 and again in 1908, but without essential footnotes or identification of Chinese proper names. Mr. Cranmer-Byng, lecturer in history at Hong Kong University, now gives us the full journal, with appendixes, which he transcribed with only a few unimportant omissions from a copy in the *Tōyō Bunko,* Tokyo. In addition to supplying illuminating comments, he advantageously utilized Chinese local histories to identify names that have long been a puzzle. Unlike several members of his entourage who published dull and disparaging recollections, Macartney himself wrote in an animated and personal style, showing few signs of vexation at the failure of an enterprise that from the start had little chance of succeeding. What is more, he repeatedly stresses the courtesies he encountered at every turn. His objectivity can be judged from the words he recorded at the end of his journey—words the editor appropriately placed at the head of this book: "Nothing could be more fallacious than to judge of China by any European standard."

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939–1945. Series Three (Air). Volume I, ROYAL AUSTRALIAN AIR FORCE, 1939–1942. By *Douglas Gillison*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; distrib. by Angus and Robertson, Sydney. 1962. Pp. xiii, 786. 40*s*.) First chronologically, but third in order of publication, Gillison's useful volume fills a long-neglected gap with its account of the origins of the Royal Australian Air Force. Of the Australian war histories, six of the twenty-two volumes have yet to be published. Much more than the Canadian or South African air forces, who were either linked with the Commonwealth Air Training Scheme or closely interwoven in the general pattern of European air operations, the Australian and New Zealand flyers fought a war of their own. Most of their efforts were closely allied to the work of the American air forces in the Southwest Pacific. Gillison has done an exhaustive job of mining the records, and one is sometimes overcome by the biographical footnotes that smack of the author's public relations background. Yet, as compared to many of the British volumes, this makes for a broader picture which includes political statements and newspaper reactions, with documentation. In my opinion, the most interesting parts of the book are those dealing with Australian relations with their partners. In the years to 1942 these were concentrated on coordination with and at the same time independence from the Royal Air Force together with the establishment of an Australian aircraft industry, first urged by Jellicoe in 1919, but not developed until nearly two decades later. After Singapore, the RAAF was driven increasingly into the arms of the Americans though links remained with the RAF.

Kansas State University ROBIN HIGHAM

AMERICAS

INDIANS OF THE WOODLANDS: FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO 1725. By *George E. Hyde*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 64.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xv, 295. $5.00.) This companion volume to Hyde's *Indians of the High Plains* deals especially with the Mound Builders

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and the Indians of the woodlands between the Hudson and the Mississippi from archaic times to the European's arrival in the late 1600's; it is based on archaeological and anthropological evidence, Indian traditions, and early accounts of European explorers, especially French. Hyde attempts to reconstruct the early life of the Indians, their cultures, their movements, and their migrations. He stresses especially the heterogenerous grouping of the Indians, particularly of the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan stocks. His thesis is that most of the Siouan (Dhegiha) were the inhabitants of the Ohio Valley, where a culture was developed and into which area other groups were driven (the Algonquian) and pushed by fighting (the Iroquois). The dream of an Indian cultural world of its own was, however, doomed by internecine warfare, internal dissensions, and the pressure of the Iroquois and then the Europeans. Hyde, known chiefly for his work on the Plains Indians (especially the Sioux) tries to make a case for the Sioux, who, he assumes, were driven from the Ohio west, north, and south chiefly by the Iroquois in the middle and late 1600's, though archaeologists deny at least the dates, and sometimes more. Hyde summarizes the newer archaeology, but when it does not support his other materials and ideas, he pontificates "assumptions" and "assertions," citing himself as an ethnohistorian. His earlier chapters are archaeological, the later ones more historical. The book, he says, is frankly experimental, being aimed at the general reader. I am far from satisfied, however; I am in fact, confused. Hyde's definitions are indefinite, and his conclusions often assumptive; many times he corrects the archaeologists. The archaeologists are hardly all wrong, their conclusions "only imaginary things." Perhaps Hyde should, as he says on pages 229 and 259, "get back to earth." He has, however, attempted to identify and locate tribes of the late seventeenth century in the first tier of states west of the Mississippi. That is a very tricky problem, and perhaps he has pointed the way. He also points to a fact, evidently true, that once Europeans entered the civilization of the Indians, the Indians made no further advance.

San Diego State College A. P. NASATIR

MISSOURI: A HISTORY OF THE CROSSROADS STATE. By *Edwin C. McReynolds.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 483. $5.95.) In eighteen chapters this book presents a condensed narrative of Missouri's history from the period of the Spanish and French explorations to the election of 1960. As the title indicates, the author believes that Missouri's significance lies chiefly in its relation to the main current of American development. Political history receives major attention and is presented from a liberal and internationalist viewpoint. The book will find its greatest use as a basic text in courses in Missouri history and as a handy reference for checking details concerning the state's past. It differs most from earlier one-volume treatments of Missouri in its relatively greater emphasis on the state's political history since World War I. Most historians will agree with the author's underlying assumptions concerning his approach to state history, but some will disagree with his heavy emphasis on national history, which reduces the opportunity to include more of the Missouri record. As a crossroads state, Missouri, of course, found itself centrally involved in many national issues, and these deserve attention. But should one devote twelve pages to the expeditions of Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Long? Should two chapters be given over largely to the career and presidency of Harry S. Truman? At times, the narrative is largely national in emphasis, with only passing reference to Missouri. Richard M. Nixon, for instance, receives more attention than most of Missouri's governors. Because of the scope of the narrative the author often finds himself compelled to stop with a thumbnail sketch of an individual and a judgment of his career, which gives, especially in the latter part of the book, an impression of classifying men as heroes or

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villains. Heavy emphasis on the national scene and on narration also reduces the space available for analysis. More attention should have been given, for instance, to analysis of the economic foundations of the Democratic and Whig parties in Missouri and to Whig strategy as the minority party. The same holds true for regional groupings within the state and for agricultural, mercantile, industrial, professional, and educational life.

University of Missouri LEWIS ATHERTON

THE PUBLIC LANDS: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. Edited by *Vernon Carstensen*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1963. Pp. xxvi, 522. $6.75.) The twenty-eight essays in this volume were selected from journals of history and economics to mark the sesquicentennial of the United States General Land Office. Some of them are well known, especially those by Danhof, Shannon, and Gates on the subject of cheap land as a labor safety valve. Some of them are newer but no less enlightening. Gates, LeDuc, and the Bogues, for example, thoroughly analyze the influence of speculation in the disposal of federal land grants by settlers and by states. The articles composed of Henry's challenge to the railroad land-grant legend and the seven replies to it offer historical controversy at its best. All of the selections, incidentally, attest to the fact that the writing of public land history calls for competence both in economics and the political and natural sciences. In order to illustrate the significant gap between expectations, applicability, and consequences of land legislation and distribution, the authors utilize several approaches (variations in time and region) and discuss many specific topics (military bounties, agricultural college script, claim clubs, mineral and timberlands, stock raising). Some subjects, such as reclamation lands, are neglected. The contributors often remind the reader, however, that numerous problems have yet to be adequately investigated. The articles by Dunham and Clawson, for example, correctly suggest that the influence of personalities in the decisions of federal land bureaus warrants greater attention. As Bogue points out, there is also need for further study of land policy as a political issue. Taken together, the selections document the changing intent of federal policy from the time of sales for revenue, to rapid distribution of the domain, to the recent system of protection and management of public lands. Because of the scope and variety of these essays, the volume should serve not only the student of national and regional development, but would also be useful for college courses in economics, public administration, and land and resource management.

Washington State University ELMO R. RICHARDSON

A CENTURY OF HIGHER EDUCATION: CLASSICAL CITADEL TO COLLEGIATE COLOSSUS. Edited by *William W. Brickman* and *Stanley Lehrer*. (New York: Society for the Advancement of Education. 1962. Pp. 293. Cloth $5.50, paper $3.75.) Fourteen historians or specialists in education have contributed chapters to this short review of some aspects of American higher education in the United States. Among the topics treated are legal developments, liberal arts colleges, state universities, church-related colleges, land-grant colleges and universities, junior and community colleges, graduate education, professional schools, teacher education, education of women, Negro education, and the international relations of higher education. Each chapter attempts to give a hundred-year overview of one of these topics. The book intends to make no scholarly contribution, but Tyrus Hillway's discussion of junior and community colleges and Horace Mann Bond's account of Negro education are excellent, short contributions to historical understanding. Many of the chapters read like entries in an encyclopedia or handbook, although George P. Schmidt on the

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liberal arts college writes with style and charm, and Robert Maynard Hutchins in "An Appraisal of American Higher Education" is predictably challenging and thoughtful. As history, the book is sometimes thrown out of balance by preoccupation with the present and the future. An appendix includes useful chronologies of higher education, 1862–1962, and a nonanalytical bibliography. Although many of the chapters contain much useful statistical information, the book has no index.

Williams College FREDERICK RUDOLPH

FINANCING AMERICAN ENTERPRISE: THE STORY OF COMMERCIAL BANKING. By *Paul B. Trescott.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1963. Pp. xiii, 304. $4.50.) This narrative history on the role of bank credit in the growth of America shows expert understanding of economic development, credit practices, and money; judgment in selecting areas, incidents, and statistics; and skill in weaving a vivid story in nontechnical language. The book was prepared under the sponsorship of the Centennial Commission of the American Bankers Association. Making credit his main focus, Trescott follows bank lending from early days, when the nation was predominantly farmers, to the highly specialized economy of the 1960's with its extensive interrelated markets. He explores use of credit by leaders—Rockefeller, Eads, and others—who forged ahead on projects, in the development of railroads and autos, and by farmers and small businesses, the main concern of most banks, in thousands of communities. Continually adapting to demands, banks expanded their activities from lending on real-estate mortgages to many types of loans for businesses, farmers, and consumers, the operation of millions of checking and savings accounts, and related services today. Banks have been a catalytic agent in the capital accumulation so essential for development of vast resources. At intervals Trescott turns to the other side of banking: money. Most of the country's money was created as banks made loans, first by paying out their notes and later by crediting amounts to borrowers' checking accounts. Responsibility for bank note and deposit liabilities was frequently incompatible with lending. In the continuing conflicts, the balance of public opinion shifted between favoring pressures from borrowers and favoring pressures for government action to assure safe money. Among subjects of interest are the role of deposit money, the differences in banking on the agricultural frontier and in the industrialized East, the struggle to establish adequate national control over money, the relation of credit and money to business cycles, and the broadened objectives of money management since World War II. For balanced treatment, there might be more on the change in the competitive position of commercial banking introduced by nonbank lending institutions. The narrative, like a commercial on television, jars somewhat in the concluding chapter. It is suggested that "a public interest inheres in commercial banks," beginning with "their unique diversity of credit and savings functions" and ending with "their management of the nation's money." And yet, five questions on complicated banking issues are introduced to suggest that government regulation has gone too far.

American University SUSAN S. BURR

NORTH CAROLINA CHARTERS AND CONSTITUTIONS, 1578–1698. Edited by *Mattie Erma Edwards Parker.* [The Colonial Records of North Carolina.] (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. 1963. Pp. xxii, 247. Leather $10.00, buckram $5.00.) The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission is making a significant contribution in initiating a new series of "The Colonial Records of North Carolina." The old series, with this title, compiled and edited by W. L. Saunders in ten volumes some three-quarters of a century ago, has been out of print for many years. Since the time

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of its publication, many other records relating to colonial North Carolina have been located, and "new inventions, processes, and products, such as the photocopy and microfilm, have made it possible to secure facsimile rather than handwritten copies with which the editor can work." In addition, there have been improvements in editorial standards, in printing, and in new types of paper that have been developed which, according to experts, will last for centuries. Inasmuch as the occasion for initiating this series is the three hundredth anniversary of the Carolina Charter, it is fitting to begin the publication with the charters and constitutions relating to Carolina prior to 1700. Two groups of documents are reproduced in this attractive volume: charters issued by English sovereigns authorizing colonization of areas now in North Carolina, and constitutions issued by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. Mrs. Parker has done a superb editorial job, beginning with an eight-page "Introduction to the Volume." This is followed by more than a dozen significant documents, including the 1584 charter to Walter Raleigh, the 1629 Heath Charter, the Carolina Charter of 1663, and the various editions of Locke's Fundamental Constitutions. Each document, which is faithfully reproduced, is preceded by a clear and well-written "Introduction," which gives pertinent facts relating to the issuance of the particular document and valuable information about the grantee or grantees. Since this particular volume "has been planned for the general reader as well as the scholar," the "modernized" editorial method has been used, with some modifications. The editor has kept annotation to the minimum required to clarify the documents. I agree with the concluding statement in the "Foreword" by Christopher C. Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History: "The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission is to be commended, and the State of North Carolina and its people are to be congratulated, for taking this step, which is essential if our citizens are to know and appreciate their rich historical heritage."

Chapel Hill, North Carolina HUGH T. LEFLER

EVOLUTION OF A FEDERALIST: WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH OF CHARLESTON (1758–1812). By *George C. Rogers, Jr.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 439. $8.00.) The product of prodigious research in hitherto unworked manuscripts, this volume is the first full-scale biography of William Loughton Smith, Federalist congressman, diplomatist, and political pamphleteer in the first two decades under the federal Constitution. Smith was neither a popular idol nor a political talent of the highest order, but his career affords an interesting study of the limitations and possibilities of arch-Federalism. In the period of Federalist ascendancy Smith flourished, first as a staunch Hamiltonian in the Congress and then as minister to Portugal in the Adams administration. After the Federalist debacle his political fortunes declined, and in 1808 he swung his allegiance to the Republicans, only to be ostracized by Republicans and Federalists alike. It is Rogers' chief contribution that he has identified the sources of Smith's political support—an arch-Federalist faction composed mainly of old Tories of the Charleston merchant-banker aristocracy—and in the process explained how Smith could have been elected to Congress in 1788 over the "popular" opposition of David Ramsay and Alexander Gillon and re-elected in 1794, when he was opposed by the moderate Federalist leaders of South Carolina, the Rutledges and the Pinckneys. The result is an illuminating analysis of factional divisions among the South Carolina Federalists. Although Rogers is not entirely successful in defending Smith against charges of speculation in the early 1790's and sheer political opportunism in 1808, he has performed a significant service in rescuing his subject from obscurity.

University of California, Los Angeles KEITH B. BERWICK

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PATRIOTS AND PARTISANS: THE MERCHANTS OF NEWBURYPORT, 1764–1815. By *Benjamin W. Labaree*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXIII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 242. $5.00.) John P. Marquand once remarked that Newburyport, Massachusetts, was a "Federalist Pompeii." The lovely mansions along High Street stand in their original ornate simplicity, as if they had been preserved under volcanic ash, while nothing else of the period has survived. Who, and what manner of men, were their first owners? What problems faced them, and how did they respond? How did decisions and events in Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, London, and Paris affect their lives and livelihood? To these questions, Labaree has turned his attention. The result is an excellent account of the interaction of politics, economic interest, and regionalism. Whatever the case elsewhere in Massachusetts, Newburyport was not a democracy, Labaree points out. A mercantile aristocracy effectively controlled town politics. But unlike their counterparts in Salem, Marblehead, and Boston, the Newburyport merchants unanimously endorsed the radical movement throughout the events leading to the Revolution. Labaree ascribes this partly to Newburyport's economic and political dissociation from the colonial capital, partly to economic depression following the French war, but chiefly to the merchants' constant and fervent concern for political liberties. On this score, the author has not entirely convinced me. In 1780, Labaree continues, resentment against the farmers of western Massachusetts and a desire for stability placed the Newburyporters among the leaders of the movement for a new state constitution. The severe contraction of trade during the Confederation period brought ruin to many of the Newburyport merchants and placed the town solidly in the camp of what came to be the Federalist party. Prosperity returned under the new federal government, and profits soared with the outbreak of war in Europe, but a new generation reaped the benefit. Then, at the peak of fortune, the town was abruptly paralyzed by the Jeffersonian embargo. The new merchants met this cataclysm in much the same spirit as the older generation had reacted to the revolutionary crisis thirty-five years before, but a disastrous water front fire and "Mr. Madison's War" put an end forever to all that the old mansions represent. With the help of an extensive collection of contemporary records, Labaree has now resurrected the political and economic life of the town. His book successfully demonstrates how well historians can contribute to our understanding of the past by focusing their attention on the local scene.

Kittery Point, Maine BYRON FAIRCHILD

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE HACKENSACK VALLEY: THE JERSEY DUTCH AND THE NEUTRAL GROUND, 1775–1783. By *Adrian C. Leiby*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 329. $10.00.) In the broad mosaic of American Revolutionary War history, accounts of local conflicts often furnish colorful contributions to the over-all picture. This book fulfills such a function exceptionally well. Although its setting is confined to the Hackensack Valley in northern New Jersey, the strategic location and concentration of varied warfare within the area mark the region as significantly microcosmic of the war itself. Especially is this true regarding the internecine conflict between Whig and Tory neighbors, a phase of the Revolution that has not yet been adequately studied or presented. Adrian Leiby, a lawyer turned part-time historian, has attempted to remedy this in so far as his native section is concerned and to a considerable extent has succeeded. His well-designed, if expensive, book has detailed the Hackensack part of the war so well that it will probably not need to be so recounted again. Emphasis is upon the Jersey Dutch settlers, many of whom helped General Howe invade the country between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, while seemingly as many patriots from among these sturdy Dutch aided Wash-

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ington. The author shows an extreme interest in local church history, but relates it well to his narrative. His documentation from primary sources is admirable, even if lengthy footnotes on each page often detract the eye of the reader inordinately downward. From 1776 to 1781 the Hackensack region lay between the British army in New York City and the main continental defenses in the Hudson highlands. Many exciting episodes resulted, some of which are described in this volume, others passed over slightly. This was a "dread neutral ground which save for those earnest Jersey Dutch patriots who would not let danger drive them from their homes, was to be far too perilous for any but desperate men, hungry for vengeance, gold or glory." The volume is excellent local history, importantly related to the whole of the American Revolution.

New York University NORTH CALLAHAN

GENERAL PETITIONS, 1797–1799. Edited by *Allen Soule*. [State Papers of Vermont, Volume XI.] (Montpelier: Howard E. Armstrong, Secretary of State. 1962. Pp. xvii, 494. $6.25.) The present volume continues the publication of the early state papers, in which Vermont has been engaged since 1918, and completes a series of four volumes made up of petitions to the legislature for the years 1778–1799. The petitions, here given for 1797–1799, continue to illuminate what people wanted the General Assembly to do and what their problems were, in a way that would not be possible today. Roughly a third deals with roads, bridges, and the like; another third has to do with matters of local government. The remainder are requests for help for debtors in jail, pleas for new trials, petitions for bounties or lotteries, or the creation of schools and libraries. Vermont is fortunate that nearly all the petitions have survived—indeed, so many are left from after 1799 that they cannot be published. It is fortunate, too, in having had a series of careful editors, so that the papers as published fill nearly every need and indicate where reference to the originals might be useful. Some few of the petitions for this period, and biographical sketches of some of the men, have appeared in earlier volumes of this series, or in the *Records of the Governor and Council* (1873–80). The references in footnotes to the *Ms. Laws of Vermont* suggest the real need of printing them next in the series.

Dartmouth College HERBERT W. HILL

THE WESTERN BOOK TRADE: CINCINNATI AS A NINETEENTH-CENTURY PUBLISHING AND BOOK-TRADE CENTER. CONTAINING A DIRECTORY OF CINCINNATI PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, AND MEMBERS OF ALLIED TRADES, 1796–1880, AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Walter Sutton*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1961. Pp. xv, 360. $8.00.) One of the most interesting phenomena of the midwestern frontier was the rapid development of intellectual interests, a result of the urban character of settlement that made possible almost immediately the establishment of newspapers. The weekly paper was a purveyor of "literary intelligence" as well as of news; the press was available for book publishing; the office was often a little bookstore. This was certainly true in Cincinnati, which became the leader of the western book trade, in the later nineteenth century, the fourth largest publishing center in the United States. In a detailed study Walter Sutton has traced the growth of this regional publishing industry from its pioneer beginnings, through its period of greatest importance, into its decline in the years following the Civil War. With him we see how the acute shortage of newsprint that was often the plague of newspaper publishing forced the local development of papermaking. So too the manufacture of type and printing equipment was stimulated. In 1826 we are told the Cincinnati presses turned out 185,000 volumes.

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In 1851 the city directory listed 425 persons in the book trade and announced the gross product as over $2,000,000. The backbone of this thriving trade, as one would expect, was lawbooks, Bibles and other religious works, schoolbooks, river guides, and other useful books. In mid-century, cheap reprints of every author who could be thought of were being offered in yellow paperbacks. Sutton has gathered considerable information about a great many bookseller-publishers and has devoted much space to the important firms of U. P. James, H. W. Derby, Henry Howe, Robert Clarke, the Western Methodist Book Concern. In an appendix he provides a thirty-four-page directory of publishers, booksellers, and members of allied trades between 1796 and 1880. There are a nine-page bibliography and an index. In every way *The Western Book Trade* is a most thorough and useful volume. The only complaint is that the many notes are awkwardly concealed at the close of each chapter.

Washington University JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

PRAIRIE ALBION: AN ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN PIONEER ILLINOIS. By *Charles Boewe*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 317. $10.00.) "No man, since Columbus, has done so much toward peopling America as Mr. Birkbeck, whose publications, and the authority of whose name, had effects truly prodigious," was the exaggerated estimate of William Faux, an English traveler and recorder of impressions gained from an American journey in 1819. This is but one of the many sprightly observations with which the commentator-editor-collector, Charles Boewe, enlivens his account as he describes the ambitious attempt by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, themselves successful English farmers, to establish a settlement of farmers and artisans in a kind of "Prairie Albion" on the Illinois frontier after 1817. In a series of nine chapters Birkbeck and Flower speak for themselves to the accompaniment of a supporting cast of family members, neighbors, and western travelers. The selections from quite variant sources are skillfully woven into a delightful narrative by the editor. It is unfortunate that the mechanics of the book detract from rather than add to its over-all usefulness. The similarity of the type used for the selections and the narrative often makes it difficult to distinguish between the two. Even more regrettable was the decision to collect the notes on sources at the end of the volume along with the page numbers on which the reprinted passages begin. This information would have been much more useful appearing as footnotes in the text, thus enabling the reader to identify at a glance the source of the selection. An index would have been helpful, though difficult to make. This is, nevertheless, a valuable book, and its message fully justifies the retelling since the fascinating story of the "English Settlement" is only slightly and imperfectly known outside the Prairie State. The presence of those who made up the settlement in southeastern Illinois exerted an influence on the early history of the state far out of proportion to their number, and their experiences constitute a significant and revealing account of pioneering in perhaps its first encounter with a midwestern prairie environment.

University of Illinois ROBERT M. SUTTON

MILITARY GOVERNMENTS IN CALIFORNIA, 1846–1850, WITH A CHAPTER ON THEIR PRIOR USE IN LOUISIANA, FLORIDA AND NEW MEXICO. By *Theodore Grivas*. [Frontier Military Series, Number 4.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1963. Pp. 247. $8.50 prepaid.) Originally written as a doctoral thesis at the University of Southern California, this book chronicles the history of those military governments that held sway in California from the first one initially proclaimed by Commodore John D. Sloat, July 7, 1846, until December 20, 1849, when

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General Bennet Riley relinquished control to the newly established civil administration. In order to place California's military occupational government in perspective, the basic constitutional issues are delineated, and historical precedent of the use of military authority over civilian populations in Louisiana, Florida, and New Mexico is briefly detailed as a prelude to what happened in California. The book focuses primarily on the administrative policies of the military governors in an attempt to establish clearly "the true nature of the occupation government existing in California" during this period. The author's verdict: "military rule prevailed." The textual exposition clearly supports that conclusion. Based on extensive primary sources found in the Bancroft Library and microfilm from the National Archives, this work has partially filled the need of rounding out an important chapter in California history that was first dealt with in a memoir written by Samuel H. Willey (1901) and that was briefly detailed by Cardinal Goodwin in a book published in 1914. More recently, Dwight L. Clarke in his biography on Stephen Watts Kearny (1961) gave considerable attention to Kearny's military governorship in California during a critical and important phase, including a balanced discussion of the famed controversy with John C. Frémont, a matter touched upon by Grivas. Although he devotes one chapter to the problems of local rule, the author fails to handle this subject with the same assurance manifested in his treatment of the roles played by the military governors. Part of the reason for this failure is owing to the author's making no attempt to search the city and county records of that era and relying instead upon the memoirs of several outstanding alcaldes and upon their communications with the military authorities. Had the subject of local rule been pursued more vigorously, an important ingredient to the understanding of military government —how well it functions on the local level—would have emerged. That story has yet to be told.

University of California, Los Angeles DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MEDICAL ETHICS, 1847–1912. By *Donald E. Konold*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1962. Pp. vii, 119. $3.50.) The term "medical ethics," as used here, relates chiefly to professional conduct rather than to moral issues. In introducing this theme, Dr. Konold naturally recalls early American difficulties in organizing a guild that could define and maintain standards. His account of the first efforts to improve medical education and licensing is reliable in terms of specific facts, but some generalizations are oversimplified, and others suggest a lack of historical or scientific background. The statement that the public believed "any failure in recovery resulted from malpractice," for example, may have been true for particular times, places, and persons, but it is certainly exaggerated as it stands. The author takes the usual view that professional status was declining from about 1800 to 1850, without recognizing the possibility of defending the reverse interpretation. The decision to begin the main narrative with the founding of the American Medical Association in 1847 seems a logical one. The association's code of ethics, modeled on Percival's English code of 1796, was basic to all further developments in the United States. The subsequent trends are discussed under the headings of the regulation of quackery, the relation of research to medical ethics, the relations of physicians to laymen, and the ethics of money. In relation to quackery, the discussion covers such appropriate items as the ban on advertising, but it also involves again the whole area of education and licensing on the assumption that ethics was involved in efforts to make physicians superior to sectarians or quacks. Hence, the history of "ethics" becomes almost coextensive with the entire story of the profession. Although the account weaves back and forth in time, the chief contribution

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in all the four sections mentioned is the treatment of the hitherto rather neglected era after 1870. Thus, in relation to laymen, there is interesting comment on professional attitudes toward medical secrecy or concealment as these evolved between 1870 and 1900. And the chapters on "money" and on "ethical regulation" not only discuss the pre-1870 issues of fee bills, contract practice, and altruism, but also carry on into twentieth-century problems concerning group practice, public health, and medical care. These themes are all presented against the background of continuing adjustments made by the AMA in its original code. The book is not too readable, since it is so condensed as to amount at times to a summary. There are few quotations and these quite brief, and little effort is made to enliven or even make realistic a subject that is inherently so human in nature. But, as noted, the account is enlightening for the later periods, and Konold has used and brought to our attention a wide variety of sources that will be helpful to other scholars concerned with this field. It is thus a contribution to the general history of the American medical profession.

American Philosophical Society RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

WILLIAM BROWN IDE: BEAR FLAGGER. By *Fred Blackburn Rogers.* (San Francisco: John Howell. 1962. Pp. iv, 101. $12.50.) A careful monograph on Ide, such as this, has been needed, and it will not likely have to be done again without the discovery of substantial original material whose existence cannot be surmised. Ide's great moment in history came in June 1846 when he was elected leader of the *Osos* (Bear Flaggers) at Sonoma, California. Styling himself "Commander-in-Chief," he issued the most significant single document of the Bear Flag Revolt, a proclamation setting forth the motives and plans of his partisans and giving assurances for the Californians of good behavior. Ide seems to have acquitted himself well in his few days as a rebel chief, but his background (Mormon) and temperament were not such as to contribute to further stellar roles on the crowded California stage of 1846–1849. His personality was perhaps that of a sturdy, industrious, conscientious, intelligent, combination clerk and frontiersman. As such, he contributed to the orderly development of northern California, especially Colusa County where he seems to have filled every available public office, sometimes four or five at once.

National Park Service JOHN PORTER BLOOM

HALLECK: LINCOLN'S CHIEF OF STAFF. By *Stephen E. Ambrose.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. vi, 226. $5.00.) "If I do not survive the war," wrote Henry W. Halleck while simmering in the "political hell" of wartime Washington, "sufficient materials for a correct understanding of my acts are on record and will be found by the future historian who seeks the truth." Although (perhaps because) he survived, historians have been slow in getting around to a direct treatment of the man who was successively the first over-all commander in the West, general in chief between the tenures of McClellan and Grant, and Chief of Staff. Most of what has been written about him has been incidental, and much of it, unfriendly. The result is a popular picture of Halleck as a more or less incompetent swivel chair general, tolerated essentially as a symbol, happily translating Jomini while his armies floundered. On balance, Halleck was far more a plus than a minus. He was not a good field commander, but excelled as a "manager" of military operations. Saturated with the philosophy of Jomini, he had the good sense to modify doctrine in the face of reality. He was the most successful of the departmental commanders. He probably "saved" Sherman and "discovered" Sheridan, was quite useful in a variety of capacities to Lincoln in Washington, fought political interference in military affairs, backed his successful

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generals to the limit, instituted important reforms leading to the beginning of a modern command system, and played a major role in building a genuinely professional army. Professor Ambrose's corrective is pointed but temperate. He concedes that "by all the touchstones used to judge great captains of the past, Halleck was a failure," but that he was nonetheless "the 'Old Brains' of the Union Army in the time of the testing of the nation." This is a military rather than a full biography. Except for a brief opening chapter and an even briefer postlude, it deals with the wartime period only. It is based upon a fairly broad but by no means exhaustive selection of manuscript sources and draws heavily on the official records. It is a book long overdue.

Miami University CHARLES R. WILSON

NORWEGIAN–AMERICAN STUDIES. Volume XXI. (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1962. Pp. 311. $3.50.) This tribute to Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, long editor of *Norwegian-American Studies,* a director of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, former graduate dean at the University of Minnesota, and historian of note, presents some studies of the Norwegian in an American milieu. The delightful prairie reminiscences of Wisconsin and Dakota, comments on Cleng Peerson's communitarian backgrounds and Reiersen's "youthful indiscretions," and a translation of his section on Texas are topped by Dorothy Burton Skårdal's immigrant writers and Kenneth O. Bjork's study of early Scandinavian journalists in Utah. These articles, the bibliography, and the archive news add welcome literature on Scandinavians in America. Of particular note is Bjork's "A Covenant Folk, with Scandinavian Colorings," a "dig" in archival and newspaper material for the story of early Scandinavian newspapers of Utah and their struggle against the rapid transition to Americanization and the conflict, when newspapers were non-Mormon, with the church. These are basic materials, yet unknown to writers and historians in the field, except for those published in 1958 by Bjork in his *Across the Great Divide.* A second article of singular value is Dorothy Burton Skårdal's study of immigrant writers for it examines for the first time in detail the contributions and value of Scandinavian literary writers in America. Authors unknown, except to special groups, are judged to be of relatively poor quality, but the entire collection is noteworthy for cultural history. Personal glimpses of North Dakota, Alaska, and Canada in the reminiscences of Barbara Levorsen, Norby, and Teien, and the "Amerikabrev" in Beulah Folkedahl's translation, furnish delightful source materials for early Norwegian immigration and migration, although adding little new information. If the volume were not dedicated to Blegen, it would stand on its own merits, but with his many contributions being commemorated, this issue of *Norwegian-American Studies* is to be particularly prized.

Long Beach State College RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

WILLIAM CLARKE QUANTRILL: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *Albert Castel.* (New York: Frederick Fell. 1962. Pp. 250. $6.00.) In his short life (July 31, 1837–June 6, 1865), Quantrill the bushwhacker became a legendary figure and helped spawn a century of other legends. Out of an orphaned adolescence he moved from frustration to failure as teacher, Kansas settler, army teamster, border ruffian, and consummate Confederate guerrilla leader. This valuable book reconstructs a troubled life; ten of its eleven chapters trace in documented detail the last five years from banditry to death in a Kentucky military prison hospital. Castel cuts through the underbrush of mythology and partisan condemnation to discover and explain the nature of a violent young man. To understand Quantrill, Castel maintains, is to realize that he

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was paranoiac. "And paranoids make history—which is unfortunate for mankind. No human force matches the power generated by a man who feels himself to be great, but who is denied greatness; who regards himself a superior, but who is made to feel inferior; and who can never rest until his greatness and superiority are established for others to see and admire." Judiciously using an impressive array of manuscript accounts by participants, contemporary newspaper reports, monographs, and scholarly articles, Castel makes a real contribution to the history of the border, a corrective to John N. Edwards' *Noted Guerrillas* (1877) and William E. Connelley's equally one-sided *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (1910). The former "exaggerated Quantrill's courage and prowess, and ignored or romanticized his cruelty and criminality. Connelley . . . was guilty of exactly the reverse. And neither presented or was capable of presenting a realistic, objective analysis of his career and of the Civil War on the border." Castel's analysis is realistic, objective, and readable. The squeamish are warned against Castel's descriptions of the sack of Lawrence and the outrages committed by Quantrill's erstwhile comrades, "Bloody Bill" Anderson and George Todd.

Kansas State College of Pittsburg DUDLEY T. CORNISH

THE CIVIL WAR AT SEA. Volume III, THE FINAL EFFORT, JULY 1863–NOVEMBER 1865. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. Foreword by *E. M. Eller*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1962. Pp. xxii, 456. $6.50.) This last volume of a triology in which the author seeks to illuminate for the average reader the roles of both the Union and Confederate navies during the Civil War retains the same flavor, honest reporting, and fairness as its predecessors. It starts with the Union attempt in July 1863 to take Charleston, South Carolina, and ends in November 1865 when the C. S. S. *Shenandoah* lowered the Confederate flag for the last time at Liverpool, England. During this time the rival navies fought each other on the Mississippi, in coastal waters, and on the high seas. The Union navy, which was blessed from the start with thousands of experienced sailors, depended largely upon its number of ships to overwhelm its foe, while the South fought back by developing the ironclad vessel, the torpedo, the mine, the submarine, and the fast commerce raider. It is a fascinating story of fortitude, ingenuity, and bravery on both sides, and Jones tells it very well. Among his outstanding chapters are the accounts of the successes and failures of Confederate submarines, the taking of Mobile Bay, and the capture of Fort Fisher. Using mostly personal and official letters, official reports, diaries, memoirs, and newspapers, Jones, the historian, does not usually intrude, but writes through the eyes of the participants, either by quoting directly or paraphrasing them faithfully. As a result the narrative has a unique freshness and a contemporary quality. The reader can draw his own conclusions about the course and the outcome of the naval war and those who fought in it. This is one way to write history, and it is a good one. Within the limits he set for himself of writing a narrative of naval operations, tactics, and technical changes without going into such matters as the economics of the blockade, Jones has made a fine contribution to the history of the Civil War and has rendered to the United States Navy its just due.

Lafayette College EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

TRIUMPH OF FAITH: CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CHURCH TO AMERICAN LIFE, 1865–1900. By *Francis P. Weisenburger*. (Columbus, Ohio: the Author; distrib. by Mailing Services, Richmond, Va. 1962. Pp. vii, 221. $4.95.) Professor Weisenburger's volume presents the churchgoing American of the late nineteenth century as he saw himself: morally upright, possessed of a faith that transcended the chal-

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lenges of science and secularism, and heir to a fellowship that was the bond of constructive community. Historians whose view of the role of religion in society has been shaped by humanistic, psychoanalytic, or Marxist concepts will find the presentation curiously antique. Not that the aim is invalid. The churchmen of no other era in American history have suffered a more continuous or damning indictment for hypocrisy, self-seeking, and subservience to the interests of the business class. For decades the words "comedy" or "tragedy" have seemed better terms by which to describe their faith than "triumph." The reassessment that Weisenburger attempts is long overdue. To find, in such a book, Henry Adams, Mark Twain, and Max Eastman on the side of the angels is indeed a refreshing if not entirely a convincing experience. The exploration of the self-image of any historic social group is a tricky enterprise, even when there are no conventional distortions to correct. The task requires a large measure of sympathy. The careful attention to Roman Catholic purposes and activities in this volume is a case in point. By contrast, however, the paragraphs on the Jewish faith are fragmentary, and the brief reference to Negro religion in the South, a confusion of fact and folklore. Perhaps the author's awareness of the distance he must go to convince skeptical readers is responsible for the Victorian heaviness of many interpretive passages. But a certain deference to authorities leaves one unsure whether he would really be willing to let the defendants speak for themselves if the jury were a panel of Harvard professors. The chapter labeled "Conclusion" is in fact a historical homily on faith, hope, and love. And it rests upon fresh evidence, as though that cited before were not quite sufficient to acquit. Most men do not understand themselves well, particularly when seeking to explain the moral and religious grounds of their actions. The churchmen whose case is presented in this book knew little of Marx and nothing of Freud. They interpreted their lives in individualistic rather than social terms and assumed their conscious motives to be the real ones. The author seems almost to agree with them.

University of Minnesota TIMOTHY L. SMITH

A WORK OF GIANTS: BUILDING THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD. By *Wesley S. Griswold.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1962. Pp. xvi, 367. $6.95.) In keeping with its title, this account of the building of the first transcontinental railroad is rich in colorful detail and anecdote, but it is by no means just another book for railroad enthusiasts. The author, a west coast magazine editor, has made effective use of manuscript materials, railroad reports, government reports, and pertinent secondary works to produce a well-written, carefully documented, comprehensive story of the financing and construction of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads. The organization of the work is superb; the author has solved the difficult problem of dealing simultaneously with two independent organizations by an effective combination of the chronological and topical approaches. Treatment of the Central Pacific is generally more satisfactory than that of the Union Pacific, but this reflects more the availability of sources than any shortcoming of the author. Indeed, in comparison with earlier authors, Griswold has worked wonders with the difficult problem of telling the story of the construction of the Union Pacific. He is particularly effective in discussing the intense competition between the two roads, for government support and favor, for finances, and even for materials. His portraits of the leading men in both organizations are drawn with imagination and insight. He deals but lightly, and generally in footnotes, with the larger social, political, and economic implications of the Pacific railroad enterprise, but he gives evidence that he is well aware of their existence and sets his story within the framework of that awareness. The publishers

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assert on the dust jacket that this is "an unusually colorful excursion into a high order of Americana." It is that, and much more: it is a valuable addition to our economic and political history.

University of Nebraska JAMES C. OLSON

STREETCAR SUBURBS: THE PROCESS OF GROWTH IN BOSTON, 1870–1900. By *Sam B. Warner, Jr.* [Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 208. $6.50.) With almost tender attention to detail and judicious selection of maps, charts, and especially photographs, Mr. Warner marks himself a "Boston-lover" and furnishes happy sustenance for others afflicted with that incurable malady. Here are six essays, each of which, with but slight alteration, could stand alone. Taken together they make up a well-integrated whole. One of a series of publications by the M.I.T.-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, this volume helps to unfold further the layers of complexities that conceal in obscurity the development of the modern city. The grand theme of the series is yet to appear, but when it does it will surely encompass Warner's thesis that a modern city "is the product of hundreds of thousands of separate decisions" pragmatically arrived at by as many individuals and groups. The most suggestive of the essays concerns the remarkable degree of stylization in the suburbs, normally associated with building codes and central planning, which occurred in Boston despite the absence of regulatory enactments. Of several useful appendixes, "A Local Historian's Guide to Social Statistics" is a germ which the author might consider expanding for the further enlightenment of his fellow workers. If a successful book is defined as one on a subject worth writing about in which the author fulfills a clearly conceived purpose, then this is, by definition, a successful book.

University of Oregon ROBERT LEWIS PETERSON

LOUIS SULLIVAN: AN ARCHITECT IN AMERICAN THOUGHT. By *Sherman Paul.* [Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1962. Pp. xi, 176. $1.95.) The subtitle of this book indicates both what it is and what it is not. It is not a biography of Louis Sullivan; nor is it a critical estimate of his architecture. It is a consideration of him as a thinker, a writer, and an educator. Only enough reference to the architect's personal life and production to explain the possible sources or substantiation of his convictions or to suggest the motive for his statements is included. Paul has not only been successful in showing Sullivan to be an independent and forceful writer and thinker, in the tradition of Emerson and Whitman, but he has also given a portrayal of the intellectual scene in Chicago in the half century from 1875 to 1925. The architect is shown to share with other leaders of American thought a concern for the common man, a faith in his potentialities, and a distrust of the prescribed and the borrowed. He, too, advocates a seeking in nature and a seeking within oneself for the strength to be free. The organization of the material and the expression of the ideas do not help to recommend the book. Too often one must stop and go back to find out just what is being referred to and how one reached this point. One is unhappily impressed by the contrast between the clarity of the passages quoted, no matter from whom, and the heaviness of the remainder of the writing. There is also a certain distortion resulting from the separation of the writings and ideas from the architectural production. Only half the man is apparent. The faults are outweighed by the thoroughness and depth of the study.

University of Texas MARIAN B. DAVIS

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THE POPULIST RESPONSE TO INDUSTRIAL AMERICA: MIDWESTERN POPULIST THOUGHT. By *Norman Pollack*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1962. Pp. 166. $3.50.) In contrast alike to the traditional view that it looked backward to a lost agricultural age and to the current hypothesis that it was an intolerant and illiberal mass movement, Pollack argues that Populism, though primarily agrarian, received significant support from "industrial labor, social reformers, and intellectuals." Its response to economic problems was not merely negative. "Had Populism succeeded, it could have fundamentally altered American society in a socialist direction. Clearly Populism was a progressive social force." Following the lead of Chester McArthur Destler's *American Radicalism, 1865–1901*, the author contends that the Populists desired a militant farmer-labor coalition as a means to political power. The failure to achieve this fusion was the fault of such conservative labor leaders as Samuel Gompers. Carrying his labor thesis further, Pollack notes similarities between Populism and Marxism in their criticism of some of the same features of capitalism in Europe and America. This affinity, he feels, "might well challenge a basic proposition in historical writing—the uniqueness of America." He hopes his book, despite its rather narrow limits, may be "a tentative first step toward the more comprehensive analysis of industrial America." Both a strength and weakness of the work are its heavy reliance on the unpublished personal correspondence and the local newspaper files concentrated in leading midwestern depositories. Such materials document grass-roots sentiment, but they may also be misleading. Thus many Populists were more radical privately than they could afford to be in the formal party literature available to the general public. But Pollack does demonstrate adequately his major thesis that the Populists were thoroughgoing radicals who were not, in any sense, reactionaries.

American University ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

THE PROGRESSIVES AND THE SLUMS: TENEMENT HOUSE REFORM IN NEW YORK CITY, 1890–1917. By *Roy Lubove*. Forewords by *Samuel P. Hays* and *Philip S. Broughton*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1962. Pp. xviii, 284. $6.00.) Robert H. Bremner was the first historian to give serious attention to the role of tenement house reform in the progressive movement, and now Roy Lubove provides us with a first full-scale treatment of that subject. Focusing on New York City but comparing it to other cities both in America and Europe, his book enlarges our understanding and our knowledge of a neglected area of research in twentieth-century liberalism. After sketching in the pre-1890, laissez-faire background, Lubove describes how the progressives rose to be the first generation of housing professionals in this country and explains why they favored "restrictive legislation"—epitomized by the New York Tenement Law of 1901—as the most effective and appropriate method of social control for a capitalist democracy. Public housing they rejected as socialistic, and model tenements run by benevolent landlords as paternalistic. Lubove documents his thesis through the careers of a dozen or more men and women and the movements in which they participated. Lawrence Veiller, who drafted and administered the 1901 law, is restored to life and made the central figure of this book. Veiller and his contemporaries were, according to Lubove, a blend of realism and naïveté. They were more hardheaded and did more good than their amateurish predecessors in the nineteenth century, but restrictive legislation fell terribly short of removing the slums. What makes the progressive achievement all the more meager was the apocalyptic assumption, which is by no means dead today, that proper housing of the poor can alone solve such problems of the modern city as congestion, poverty, violence, prejudice, juvenile delinquency, and family disintegration. *The Progressives and the Slums* explains

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better than any other book why New York City has had a continuing slum problem for more than a century, and it ought to be required reading for leaders throughout the country in city planning and urban renewal. Yet historians of the progressive era will probably want to know more than Lubove tells them about the relationship of housing reform to other reforms between 1890 and 1917. We learn, for example, that Veiller objected to the New Deal as being too radical, but it is not clear where he stood on the New Freedom and the New Nationalism, or on mugwumpism, nativism, cultural pluralism, prohibition, and other expressions of the progressive impulse at the beginning of this century.

Smith College ARTHUR MANN

PROHIBITION AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT, 1900–1920. By *James H. Timberlake*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. 238. $5.25.) This study provides a brief summary of the prohibition movement as a progressive, native American, middle-class response to the social evils arising out of the liquor industry. It was inspired by moral idealism, infused with extravagant hopes, dedicated to the scientific evidence that alcohol was always harmful, and devoted to the eradication of the corruption of politics by the liquor syndicates. The prohibitionists were able to achieve their goals, Timberlake points out, because their views were part of a widely shared (although not unopposed) popular consensus in an era dominated by reform and because the tactics of the Anti-Saloon League and its allies were so ably conceived and so brilliantly executed. World War I provided the occasion for making national and absolute a movement that had already reached the edge of victory. He concludes that prohibition did not divide along rural-urban lines, for the urban middle class gave it vigorous support. "To the old-stock, middle-class progressive, prohibition was a way of uplifting and Americanizing the lower classes; to the urban masses, it was an intolerable interference with their personal liberty." The book draws upon primary printed materials, general accounts, and special monographs; it does not exploit unprinted sources. Its narrative and analysis, for the most part traditional, are not as lively as Andrew Sinclair's account. That many immigrant communities were divided by the prohibition issue is hinted, but is nowhere explored in depth. Balanced in interpretation, temperate in tone, written in clear, direct prose, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* is more a summary than an exploration of new ground.

University of Minnesota CLARKE A. CHAMBERS

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY: THE CAREER OF GENERAL FRED C. AINSWORTH. By *Mabel E. Deutrich*. Introduction by *James D. Atkinson*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 170. $4.50.) The reorganization of the American military system that has been going on since World War II has revived interest in the earlier reorganization of the army initiated by Elihu Root. A biography of Adjutant General Fred C. Ainsworth points up the difficulties that arose in carrying out the Root reforms because Root and his colleagues did not at first clearly recognize the interrelationships between strategic and policy planning and army administration and did not provide a viable distribution of responsibilities for them. Root conceived of the general staff mainly as a planning agency and wanted to free it of administrative chores as much as possible. He secured, therefore, the creation of the Office of the Military Secretary to carry on major administrative functions, with the old title of adjutant general soon replacing that of military secretary for the head of the office. But during the first decade of the twentieth century, when the general staff had little policy planning to do and the first three chiefs of staff were uncertain as to what

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to make of their position, power gravitated away from the Chief of Staff to the administrative center, especially since the guiding hand there was the aggressive one of Adjutant General Ainsworth. When Leonard Wood, an assertive Chief of Staff, appeared, there was unavoidably a "struggle for supremacy" that compelled a rethinking of the whole general staff concept. The present biography reviews these events from Ainsworth's vantage point. Its treatment of them falls somewhere between the heavy accumulation of factual detail in Otto L. Nelson, Jr.'s, *National Security and the General Staff* and the brief but reflective essay in Paul Y. Hammond's *Organizing for Defense*. The book might have profited somewhat from an injection of reflectiveness akin to Hammond's. On the other hand, by using manuscript sources Miss Deutrich has added information that Nelson missed. As biography, the book is doubtless as good a one as can be written from limited personal sources and about a character whose career was of no great importance until its final phase.

Temple University RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

PEERLESS PATRIOTS: ORGANIZED VETERANS AND THE SPIRIT OF AMERICANISM. By *Rodney G. Minott.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1962. Pp. v, 152. $3.75.) In the belief that much of the material on the "Americanism" program of twentieth-century American veterans' organizations is "too sweeping and superficial," Mr. Minott has undertaken in a specialized little study to reappraise the efforts of these societies to inculcate patriotism. After a chapter on the development of that "magnetic mystique," nationalism, and another on the United Spanish War Veterans —so like the GAR in goals—he turns to the major subject of his study: the "Americanism" crusade of the American Legion and lesser World War I organizations. Members of these societies and of the USWV, Minott believes, derived their basic assumptions from Theodore Roosevelt. The author does not, however, attribute to this "patriotic ideologist" the Legion's extremes of militant racism, isolationism, textbook censorship, and perhaps incipient fascism. These, he believes, may have resulted from the control that "professional veterans" at national headquarters have exerted over policy. As for charges of authoritarianism, Minott suggests that recent more sophisticated interpretations of that characteristic than the popular one presented by Adorno, Sanford, and Metz should lead to caution in casting this stone. "The public is not possessed of domestic virtue because of its mass, any more than the veteran is an Americanism expert because of his war service. Both liberal critics and patriotic leaders should recast their method of thinking in respect to criticism and patriotism." Turning to more recent veterans, Minott presents a completely different record from that of the Legion. The American Veterans Committee and the Veterans of World War II have consistently worked to focus public attention on outstanding domestic social problems; in foreign affairs they have urged "controlled disarmament, some form of free world government, and sympathetic support for Afro-Asian nationalism." In contrast to the Legion's Americanism program is the Amvets' sponsorship of discussion groups in which the works of recognized scholars are studied. The great change in attitude since the days of 1898 and 1917, the author explains, reflects not only better education but also progress from "unease and provincialism" toward maturity; the more recent veterans "appear to be more sure of themselves and of the nation." Minott has used official records, contemporary accounts, newspapers, and secondary materials. In view of the welter of subjective material on this subject, his sincere effort to achieve objectivity merits praise. His book is not, however, the comprehensive study that he believes is needed. Since, as he points out, the Legion has admittedly emphasized its patriotic campaign and community work in order to "attract numbers and gain more power to enforce . . . [its] will," he might have enhanced the value of his study had he

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broadened its scope to include, side by side with the development of the Legion's Americanism program, an account of its pressure for legislation. As for style, the editor has done the author a disservice in neglecting to weed out certain departures from accepted usage.

Montgomery Junior College MARY R. DEARING

RIGHT REVEREND NEW DEALER: JOHN A. RYAN. By *Francis L. Broderick*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1963. Pp. ix, 290. $5.95.) John A. Ryan was a priest, a professor, and a social reformer. Although references to him, in his various roles, are abundant in scholarly literature, only a fragmented image of the man emerges from them. Mr. Broderick has picked up the pieces and supplemented them with material from Ryan's writings and from personal papers and church archives to portray the whole life of a significant twentieth-century figure. As a youth in Minnesota, Ryan was impressed by a wide range of liberal influences, including Populism, Leo XIII's Rerum novarum, and Henry George. After his ordination in 1898, Ryan went on to graduate study at the Catholic University of America, where he began a lifelong struggle to make his church and the government meet the challenges of modern economic practices. He was convinced that the Church had to do so because of the moral issues involved and because of the danger of losing working-class support if it did not; the government had to do so as an ethical obligation to the people. With the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *A Living Wage* (1906), he established himself as a leading proponent of social justice. He followed this up in his writings and teachings to urge Catholics to become an active force in social reform. Ryan's advanced thinking and forceful advocacies led him to be accepted as the leading Catholic representative in almost every important social reform movement from the "square deal" through the New Deal. In this book Broderick has written a well-balanced biography of a noteworthy American. He has correctly shown Ryan not so much as a prime mover but as an influential ally in the reform movements of his day. He has impressively supported the view that Ryan's great accomplishment lay in his blending of "traditional Catholic principles and the American progressive tradition" to the benefit of both Catholicism and progressivism.

University of Kansas DONALD R. MCCOY

THE WOUND IN THE HEART: AMERICA AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By *Allen Guttmann*. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1962. Pp. ix, 292. $5.95.) In the United States the Spanish Civil War was one of this generation's most impassioned political and religious controversies. Catholic and Protestant, liberal and conservative, Rightist and Leftist—all expressed strong feelings and clashing views on the subject. American opinion became inflamed in an almost unprecedented manner. It is probably true that no event in the years 1919–1939, excepting the Great Depression itself, moved Americans as did the Spanish conflict. Guttmann's study, which attempts to view the war's place in American intellectual and social history, is readable and based on good research. The historian expecting to find a detailed, chronological study of America's role in the Spanish conflict or a public opinion analysis will be disappointed. Even the claim on the front flap that the sources indicate "the whole nation's response to the Spanish War" is certainly exaggerated. Guttmann explains, however, that his purpose was not to re-create the thirty-two months of crisis or to settle the historical controversies; his concern is analysis. "How did Americans see the Spanish Civil War? Why did they . . . 'feel the Spanish drama as a personal tragedy'? Why has the Spanish War become the last great cause?" Guttmann argues

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that the key to American responses to the war is the liberal democratic tradition. He begins with what is described as "preliberal" irrational responses, such as the sadistic impulses provoked by the atrocities of the war, and moves through conservative, liberal, and radical interpretations. The last chapter returns to "post-liberal" irrational responses, such as a revulsion from the weapons of a technological civilization and the conflict between men and machines. The author deals with so many abstractions in seeking his answers that he overlooks the stark realities of the critical era during which the war was fought. Was the key to American responses really a historical liberal democratic tradition, or were Americans more concerned with the rising tide of aggression in Europe and the threat that it posed to this country? Did not the Roman Catholic hierarchy play a more important role in shaping American attitudes? Were not Americans fighting in Spain largely because of high-pressure recruiting campaigns rather than a belief in certain ideals? This volume is, nevertheless, a worthy addition to the scholarship and understanding of this complex subject.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute F. Jay Taylor

FORRESTAL AND THE NAVY. By *Robert Greenhalgh Albion* and *Robert Howe Connery*. With the collaboration of *Jennie Barnes Pope*. Foreword by *William T. R. Fox*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 359. $6.95.) In their preface, the authors of this volume state that it "does not pretend to be a comprehensive history of naval administration in World War II, nor a biography" of Forrestal. It is, nevertheless, an administrative history written, often in minute detail, from the standpoint of the offices of the Secretary and Undersecretary of the Navy. Thus it supplements the earlier work of Connery and that of D. S. Ballantine on the wartime logistical organization and administration of the Navy Department. At the same time, it is an account of Forrestal's public life during his seven-year career as Undersecretary and Secretary. Nearly every page gives evidence of the unusual advantages the authors have enjoyed in writing this book. As official historians of the navy during much of his tenure, they were able to observe Forrestal at work and to know and interview the people around him. They also had access to documents and classified files at the time when the documents and files were current and their significance could easily be assessed. The authors' proximity to Forrestal apparently has not, however, proved an unmixed blessing since an element of hero worship that detracts from the evaluation of his activity and influence is evident in the book. Too much is credited to him on the basis of speculation and tenuous evidence. Individuals and groups that found themselves sometimes in opposition to him, such as the "admirals" and the army, are frequently treated with little attempt at understanding. The work is further marred by offhand judgments in areas where research to date has been insufficient to warrant them. By way of example, too little evidence has been available from Department of Defense and other official files to justify the statement that Louis Johnson's "bungling weakened the armed forces on the eve of the Korean conflict." The authors wisely do not attempt to pass final judgment on Forrestal's career in the navy. This will have to await a thorough study of his service as Secretary of Defense, which can be expected to illuminate some of the more important of his earlier activities. Apparently Albion and Connery contemplate such a study, although some time must pass and still-closed files must be opened before it can be completed.

Arlington, Virginia Wilber W. Hoare, Jr.

AT CLOSE QUARTERS: PT BOATS IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By *Robert J. Bulkley, Jr.* Foreword by *John F. Kennedy*. Introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. (Washington, D. C.: Naval History Division. 1962. Pp. xxiv, 574. $4.75.) This

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encyclopedic volume, an official publication of the United States Navy, probably contains as much information about the operations of American PT (patrol torpedo) boats in World War II as any reader could hope to find. Originally prepared in 1946 by a former PT boat commander, it has now been revised somewhat and published as an outgrowth of the recent interest in President Kennedy's wartime PT experiences. Indeed, those interested in Lt. Kennedy's exploits will find a full account of them here. Most of the book is devoted to a rather episodic description of PT actions. A brief section covers the development of motor torpedo boats from the original 1905 experimental model down through the more sophisticated craft of World War II; only a few paragraphs are allotted to later advances. Appendixes list the composition and commanders of all PT squadrons, itemize PT losses and individual casualties, and reproduce the text of citations and awards. The narrative is amply documented, accurate, and clear, if uninspired, and the volume is well seasoned with photographs and maps. Kennedy's foreword stresses the continuing need for "small, fast, versatile, strongly armed vessels" even in "the age of nuclear power and space travel."

Industrial College of the Armed Forces STANLEY L. FALK

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. HARRY S. TRUMAN. CONTAINING THE PUBLIC MESSAGES, SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1946. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office for the National Archives. 1962. Pp. xxxi, 581. $6.00.) The second volume of the Truman *Public Papers* is similar, except for its double-column format, to the compilation for 1945 which was published in 1961 [see *AHR,* LXVII (Apr. 1962), 815]. Warren R. Reid is again editor, assisted by Mildred B. Berry, by officials of the Truman Library, and by the late David Demarest Lloyd. The main text consists of 273 items, arranged in chronological order. The full subject index refers to item numbers, but contains some page references as well. Historians will welcome this volume since it brings together the principal public statements by the President during a rather grimly exciting year. The chief new materials are the verbatim transcripts of the forty-five news conferences of the year. The President's vivid personality emerges with great clarity in these meetings. Truman in 1946 seems a bit more sure of himself, a bit more in command of details, and a bit more ready to turn questions aside than he was in 1945, but he is no whit less amusing as a character. Typical is this exchange, coming after a series of questions on personnel changes:

Q. Is anybody going to resign, Mr. President?
THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of.
Q. That's settled.
THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of. [*Laughter*]

University of Washington ROBERT E. BURKE

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION: ITS ROLE IN NATIONAL POLITICS. By *Clifton Brock.* Introduction by *Max Lerner.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1962. Pp. vii, 229. $4.50.) This book traces the history of Americans for Democratic Action from its founding in early 1947 through the first year of the Kennedy administration. Based upon records in ADA's Washington headquarters, interviews with the organization's leaders, and the relevant public sources, this volume takes us through the division in the Left over the Communist issue in the years just after the war, ADA's curious and sometimes hilarious relations with President Truman, its difficulties during the McCarthy era, its frustration with the congressional Democratic leadership of Johnson and Rayburn, and its ambivalent relations with John

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F. Kennedy. Despite the "ADA conspiracy" charges of the radical Right, the story is one of consistent frustration and impotence. Mr. Brock sympathizes with the ADA purposes, but he writes fairly and is occasionally critical of the group. For anyone who has followed politics reasonably closely in the postwar years there is nothing in this volume that is surprising, nothing altogether new in general outline. But this book does provide additional detail that historians of recent politics will find useful. One only wishes that the depth of detail were more uniform. Brock provides us, for example, with a rather detailed narrative of how the ADA fared with the Eighty-first Congress, elected in 1948, but then switches to a statistical analysis of the next five Congresses that is certainly useful, but less detailed.

University of Wisconsin DAVID A. SHANNON

HISTORY OF UNITED STATES NAVAL OPERATIONS: KOREA. By *James A. Field, Jr.* Foreword by *Ernest McNeill Eller.* (Washington, D. C.: [Department of the Navy]; distrib. by Government Printing Office. 1962. Pp. xv, 499. $4.25.) Field's study will long remain the most thorough examination of American naval operations in the Korean War. He is a warm admirer of the navy's proud tradition of participation in Far Eastern affairs who holds staunchly that wars are still determined by the influence of sea power. In the case of the Korean War, he demonstrates this point with a finality that must satisfy every navy man. Both he and the Office of Naval History deny that his conclusions represent an official naval view, although his volume is distributed by the Government Printing Office with the seal of the Navy Department on its cover. Nearly three-fourths of Field's volume deal with the hectic first year of the war. Like official historians of other services, Field is usually more concerned with the mechanics than with the heroics of war. His most instructive pages are those treating institutional questions such as the repeated failure of the navy and the air force to establish effective joint operational control. Field has avoided unnecessary probing into such emotion packed issues as the United Nations decision to cross the thirty-eighth parallel, the so-called Manchurian sanctuary, and the relief of General MacArthur. On the other hand, he methodically exposes the mistakes that more directly affected naval and marine operations: the tendency of General Headquarters at Tokyo to overcentralize control, the dangerous dispersal of American ground forces prior to the Chinese attack in late 1950, the failure to prepare for limited war, and others. Only the marines were ready for less than Armageddon in June 1950. The author's research is based on extensive reading in a wide variety of naval records. Unaccountably, he was denied the dispatch traffic between flag officers, although he had asked for access to all pertinent naval sources as a condition for undertaking the history. His conclusions regarding the effects of naval operations on the enemy must remain tentative since, unlike historians of World War II, he worked without documentation from the other side.

University of Texas WILLIAM R. BRAISTED

U. S. MARINE OPERATIONS IN KOREA, 1950–1953. Volume IV, THE EAST-CENTRAL FRONT. By *Lynn Montross et al.* (Washington, D. C.: Historical Branch, G-3, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps. 1962. Pp. x, 342. $2.25.) This book covers the First Marine Division operations in Korea, as a part of the US Eighth Army, during the fifteen months near the end of December 1950 to the latter part of March 1952. In early 1951 the division played a short, temporary role in antiguerrilla operations behind the lines in the Pohang-dong area. Then as the Eighth Army under General Ridgway started its comeback, the division assumed an important place in its attack operations. The powerful Chinese spring offensives of April and May 1951 found the marine

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division holding a part of the line in the high mountains of north central Korea. After these enemy offensives were contained and turned back, the marines took over a sector of line characterized by the rugged terrain of the "Punchbowl" area in northeast Korea. In July 1951 the truce talks began at Kaesong, and both sides settled down into position warfare. During the rest of the year the marines remained in the "Punchbowl" sector, engaging in indecisive fighting that was marked, however, by very bitter and costly struggles for certain key terrain. This book makes almost no effort to relate the story of the First Marine Division to the fighting elsewhere across the Korean Peninsula and has to be considered as an account of a relatively small segment of the Korean front. It gives the uninformed reader no general understanding of the war in Korea as a whole. It records the tactical movements of the marine units for the period covered, relates where they fought, what they did, and the general difficulties they encountered in terrain, weather, and enemy action. But it is often uncritical in its use of sources, and as military history it would be improved by more analysis and synthesis. The book includes an appendix giving a command and staff list of the First Marine Division from December 1950 to March 1952. I believe that the Marine Corps history series on the Korean War suffered in quality and readability when Captain Nicholas A. Canzona, USMC, withdrew as collaborator and coauthor; he was not a coauthor of this volume.

Washington, D. C. ROY E. APPLEMAN

LA GALISSONIÈRE ET LE CANADA. By *Roland Lamontagne.* Preface by *Louis de Broglie.* [Département d'Histoire, Université de Montréal.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1962. Pp. xviii, 104. 10 fr.) This brief but heavily documented study of La Galissonière, acting governor of New France from 1747 to 1749, is concerned with his Canadian career both as an administrator and as a man of science. Despite the author's intention of bringing his subject back to life, this is unhappily a very dull book about an interesting man, a lifeless compilation of source material gleaned from an admirably wide search for La Galissonière's writings. It offers new evidence but no rounded portrait of the extraordinary man who sought to lay the foundations of scientific research in Canada and to consolidate the French Empire in America.

University of Rochester MASON WADE

FIRST MAN WEST: ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC COAST OF CANADA IN 1793. Edited by *Walter Sheppe.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 366. $7.50.) Mackenzie was the first white man to cross the full width of North America; as Dr. Sheppe observes, it was he who in 1793 "took the last long step on a trail that men had been blazing for almost three centuries." His account of his journey, originally published in 1801, has been reprinted several times (most recently in 1931), but this handsome volume is the first annotated edition that has ever appeared. The editor has added a forty-page prologue that sets Mackenzie's achievement in perspective and a brief epilogue that describes his later years. Sheppe is a biologist, and he deals admirably with the physical aspects of the journey, but his use of manuscript and other historical sources is less satisfactory and sometimes inaccurate.

Public Archives of Canada W. KAYE LAMB

EARLY WEST INDIAN GOVERNMENT: SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF GOVERNMENT IN BARBADOS, JAMAICA AND THE LEEWARD ISLANDS, 1660–1783. By *Frederick G. Spurdle.* (Palmerston, North, N.Z.: the Author. n.d. Pp. 275.)

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This fascinating excursion into British Caribbean constitutional history is a pioneer undertaking in the field. While students have long been familiar with basic changes in the powers and position of the governors, councils, and assemblies of the mainland colonies, their shifting roles in the then far more important sugar isles have been accorded only cursory attention. The explanation is simple enough. As those former jewels of empire fell upon evil times, they lost their earlier attraction, and historians, as well as investors, turned their attention to success story areas. More recently, scholarly balance has been restored, and far-reaching economic and social developments centering in the old Caribbean possessions have been widely studied. Since the latter were, in effect, laboratories for experiments in colonial administration, it is only natural that the growth of governmental institutions there be methodically investigated, and this Mr. Spurdle has done in admirable fashion. Although the powers of both governor and council were extensive at the outset, these were whittled away methodically by the elected assemblies, and, with the passing of time, the latter regularly gained the upper hand. The popular bodies' progress was, naturally, not uniform; nor was uniformity in assembly power ever achieved, but all were in effective control before emancipation and collapsing sugar prices brought ruination and decay. The present study, running to the close of the American Revolution, mirrors Britain's sugar bowls in their heyday, with democratic processes and constitutional development closely paralleling those on the mainland. The author is to be commended for his extensive and judicious use of source materials, for the clarity of his exposition, and for his able demonstration of the successive steps whereby, in island after island, the executive was effectively shorn of his powers so that, by 1783, they but faintly resembled those of Restoration days. A companion volume, covering the depression era decline of the assemblies in the same deft manner, would be warmly welcomed.

Ohio State University LOWELL RAGATZ

JOSÉ BATLLE Y ORDÓÑEZ OF URUGUAY: THE CREATOR OF HIS TIMES, 1902–1907. By *Milton I. Vanger.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. viii, 320. $7.50.) Professor Vanger has given us a thoroughly documented and realistic political analysis of the first presidency of Batlle, using the Batlle papers and a wide range of other sources. Let us hope he will follow up with a sequel on the later, more creative phase of the Uruguayan leader's career. From these pages Batlle emerges an astute politician, playing the game of Uruguayan politics according to the rules of the thinly veiled power contest to which the Colorado and Blanco parties had agreed in the *acuerdo* of 1897. He was an amateurish but, in the final analysis, an effective leader in the civil war during his presidency. Although antimilitarist in principle, he strengthened and reorganized the Uruguayan army in order to dispose of the prison police in the Blanco controlled departments, which had been the basis of the Blanco military threat. His chief accomplishment is political, rather than social reform, strengthening party organization and creating a situation in which real elections could be accepted by the nation as decisive. Students of the history of ideas will note with interest that Batlle, like many of his generation, was influenced by *krausismo,* as presented in the national university by Prudencio Vázquez y Vega. One could wish this aspect of Batlle had been studied further. Numerous references clarify José Enrique Rodó's relations to the issues of the day, often in opposition to Batlle. More careful editing to improve the writing would have eased the reader's task, a task increased by the author's failure to give, at the beginning of most chapters, a definite year for events.

American University HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS

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Latin America

Karl M. Schmitt

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Historical News

Editorial

Jefferson's Means of Countering the Risk

Carl Becker thought that Jefferson, though moved by a humane and engaging faith, was innocent in his view of man and mistook the instrument of evil for its source. Niebuhr, Thompson, and others have agreed—naturally enough in an age when tyranny grows more menacing in form as it multiplies in number. But Herbert J. Muller refuses to clothe Jefferson in our tattered illusions. "More clearly and fully than any other thinker of the age," he writes in *Freedom in the Western World,* "Jefferson recognized the logical implications of a faith in freedom and faced up to the risk . . . of a democratic state."

Jefferson saw the risk where history and experience taught him to look for it, not in the shape of power or in its location but in the actions and designs of men. He was still young when he wrote: "In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve." The germ of degeneracy among rulers was present in all men, and a degeneracy in the people's spirit and manners—he used the word in the old sense of moral character—was a "canker which eats to the heart of its laws and constitutions." His whole life was an unremitting effort to cover the wager that man's social propensities would triumph over his dissocial passions.

Both his towering faith and his realistic facing of the risk received their most memorable expression in 1776. The American people embraced the moral proposition with a zeal that obscured every threat: Jefferson was all but alone in insisting that the more exigent task was to confront the danger at once. At the capstone of his system of reform was a bill for education, and the central aim of this was the central aim of his life: "of all the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty." In the first and most important stage of this system of education, history was to be the chief literature. The study of history, Jefferson argued, "will avail [the people] of the experience of other times and other nations; it will . . . enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views."

Tyranny, in brief, threatened always and in many forms. The best armament for opposing it under any disguise was a general diffusion of knowledge among the people. The best weapon in the arsenal was history. This alone, as George Kennan echoed in our day, could teach man the hopeful as well as the tragic limits of his condition.

Julian P. Boyd

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American Historical Association

The American Historical Association will meet at the Sheraton and other hotels, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 28–30, 1963. Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Clement Motten of Temple University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received a first installment of the papers of Clinton P. Anderson, United States senator from New Mexico. This material, which centers on the years 1941–1960 and which reflects Senator Anderson's distinguished career in both houses of Congress, is currently restricted. The library has also received 2,200 papers of Robert Roberts Hitt, long-time congressman from Illinois (1882–1906), as a gift from Mrs. William F. Hitt, whose husband was a grandson of the congressman. These papers do not include Hitt's notes of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, but they do include twenty-eight volumes of shorthand notebooks of important speeches and meetings, early diaries, and correspondence dating from the years he served in Congress

Mrs. Lewis H. Crafts has presented about one hundred papers of George Washington Lay, who served as representative from New York from 1833 to 1837. Most of these are letters Lay received from Whig politicians between 1818 and 1857. Commander J. Conway Hunt has given the papers of General Henry Jackson Hunt (1819–1889), dealing mostly with Hunt's service during the Civil War period, to the Library. The papers of Admiral William Shepherd Benson, including those dealing with his service on the United States Shipping Board, have been deposited in the Library by his son, Commodore Howard H. J. Benson. Mrs. Marc A. Mitscher has presented more than nine hundred papers of the late Admiral Mitscher, many of them relating to naval campaigns in the Pacific during World War II.

Over ten thousand papers of Ray Eber Brown, a key figure in the navy's development of uses of helium, have been given by Mrs. Brown. They cover Brown's career from 1917 to 1961. Cass Gilbert's niece, Mrs. Walter Bastedo, has given about 2,700 of his papers to the Library. The material includes thirty-three diaries that cover in meticulous detail many of the architectural ventures in which Gilbert was involved.

The National Archives recently received from the Department of State records of its offices responsible for Latin American affairs, 1905–1943; records maintained by the office of Leo Pasvolsky relating to such matters as economic and political policies and postwar programs, 1938–1945; and records of the Office of Protocol relating to social functions sponsored by the Department for heads of state and other foreign visitors, 1942–1961, and to decorations and gifts presented by foreign governments to US officials, 1900–1930. Other accessions include records of the US Commission for the United States' Science Exhibit at the Seattle World's Fair, 1959–1963; docketed case files of the Federal Communications Commission closed in 1959, involving rates, facilities, corporate organization, transfers of ownership, and assignment of frequencies for telephone, tele-

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graph, cable, and broadcasting companies; and records of the Defense Electric Power Administration, 1950–1953.

The National Archives has recently published Special List Number 17, *Writings Relevant to Farm Management in the Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics,* and the following preliminary inventories of parts of its holdings: Number 150, *The Sir Henry S. Wellcome Papers in the Federal Records Center, Seattle, Washington;* Number 151, *Records of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands;* Number 152, *Records of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration;* Number 153, *Textual Records of the Panama Canal;* and Number 154, *Records of the Office of Territories.*

Among microfilm publications recently completed are Appellate Case Files of the US Supreme Court, 1792–1831 (96 rolls); Habeas Corpus Case Records, 1820–1863, of the US Circuit Court for the District of Columbia (2 rolls); Case Papers of the US District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, 1863–1865, Relating to the Confiscation of Property (1 roll); Confederate Papers of the US District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina, 1861–1865 (1 roll); State Department Records, 1910–1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Japan (43 rolls), to Political Relations between the United States and Japan (9 rolls), and between Japan and Other States (1 roll); State Department Territorial Records for the Northwest Territory (1 roll) and the Southwest Territory (1 roll); Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from Arkansas (60 rolls), Florida (11 rolls), Mississippi (4 rolls), North Carolina (25 rolls), and Texas (13 rolls); Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to Commandants and Navy Agents, 1808–1865 (5 rolls); and Letters Sent by the Secretary of War to the President and Executive Departments, 1864–1870 (5 rolls). The series of Letters Sent by the Secretary of War Relating to Military Affairs, previously microfilmed from 1800 to 1861, has now been completed through 1889 (110 rolls in all), and the indexes to this series, 1871–1889, have also been microfilmed (12 rolls).

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library received additional correspondence of former Ambassador Herbert Claiborne Pell, 1937–1941, describing political and commercial conditions in Portugal and Spain. Papers recently received by the library from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's estate include her general correspondence for the years 1961–1962, correspondence and other papers relating to trips in 1953–1960, drafts of lectures in 1949, and of her column "My Day" in 1955–1962, and drafts of speeches and magazine articles from 1957 to 1962. Also received were financial records and account books, 1945–1962, papers of her former secretary, Malvina C. Thompson, and a number of photographs. The library's holdings of Mrs. Roosevelt's papers now total 1,100 cubic feet.

The board of directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute established a prize book competition at its annual meeting on March 30, 1963. They will award a prize of one thousand dollars for the best book on the Truman period published in the biennium ending June 30, 1964, and in each succeeding biennium. The prize will be a memorial to the late David D. Lloyd, who was executive director of the Harry S. Truman Library, Inc., the corporation that constructed the library building, and vice-president of the institute. The residual funds of the corporation, which has completed its objectives, will go to the institute to facilitate

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the research program of the library. The library recently acquired the papers of Senator Clinton P. Anderson, former Secretary of Agriculture; the legislative files of former Congressman Sidney R. Yates of Illinois; a first installment of the papers of Stephen A. Mitchell, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee; additional papers of John Snyder, James E. Webb, Fred J. Lawton, and Edwin A. Locke; and files of the National Committee against Limiting the Presidency. Transcripts of interviews conducted in the oral history program with long-time acquaintances of Mr. Truman in Missouri were opened for research.

The National Historical Publications Commission's *Report to the President Containing a Proposal . . . to Meet Existing and Anticipated Needs over the Next Ten Years under a National Program for the Collection, Preservation, and Publication, or Dissemination by Other Means of the Documentary Sources of American History* was released and distributed in March. The proposed legislation authorizing the commission to carry out a grant-in-aid program "to Federal, State, and local agencies and to nonprofit organizations and institutions, for the collecting, describing, editing, and publishing (including microfilming and other forms of reproduction) of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States" was introduced into Congress in April, and it is hoped passage may be achieved at this session.

Collections of manuscripts, books, and materials relating to Lavoisier have been given to Cornell University.

The papers of William Langer, former governor of North Dakota and US senator, are now open for research at the University of North Dakota library. They cover his career from 1908 to 1959.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

Fifty-two scholars have been awarded American Council of Learned Societies fellowships for postdoctoral research in the humanities and social sciences during 1963–1964. Historians included are: Stanley M. Elkins, Charles M. Gray, Louis R. Harlan, Henry F. May, Karl F. Morrison, Carl E. Schorske, Morton Smith, George W. Stocking, Jr., Walter W. Wagar, and Bertie Wilkinson.

Among forty-one scholars receiving grants-in-aid of research from the ACLS are the following historians: Frederick S. Allen, Loren Baritz, Marvin B. Becker, Raymond F. Birn, Fredric L. Cheyette, George T. Dennis, Martin B. Duberman, William J. Jones, Bert J. Loewenberg, Robert D. Meade, Andrew F. Rolle, Paul W. Schroeder, and Herbert Strauss.

The ACLS recently published an announcement of "Aids to Individual Scholars" available for 1963–1964. The announcement covers fellowships, grants-in-aid, and special grants; it is available from the ACLS, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

Among the historians who have received Social Science Research Council grants are: *Research Training Fellowships*—John P. Bell, Robert Max Berdahl, James Friguglietti, John Randall Gillis, Harold B. Johnson, Jr., Zane L. Miller, Richard M. D. Piazza, Dorothy Ross, and Larry K. Smith. *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Cornelius Krahn, William Letwin, and Earl Pomeroy. *Political*

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Theory and Legal Philosophy Fellowships—Margot L. Drekmeier. *Grants-in-Aid*—Dean Albertson, Raymond F. Birn, Robert H. Bremner, Robert E. Burns, David Donald, Louis G. Geiger, Paul Goodman, Herbert G. Gutman, Sydney V. James, and Fritz Stern. *Grants for Research on National Security Policy*—John McV. Haight, Jr., and Richard A. Preston.

Joint Committees of the ACLS and the SSRC have awarded the following specialized grants to historians: *Grants for Asian Studies*—Ainslie T. Embree, Walter Hauser, and David R. Sturtevant. *Grants for Latin American Studies*—Louis E. Bumgartner, Benjamin Keen, Fredrick B. Pike, Rollie E. Poppino, and Alfred J. Tapson. *Grants for Research on the Near and Middle East*—John B. Kelly, Helen Anne B. Rivlin, Hisham B. Sharabi, and John L. Teall. *Grants for Slavic and East European Studies*—Oswald P. Backus, George Barany, Samuel H. Baron, John S. Curtiss, Leopold Haimson, Albert J. Schmidt, and Edward C. Thaden.

The following were awarded American Association of University Women fellowships for historical study during the year 1963–1964: Cynthia S. Brown, Ann M. Burton, J. Chrysostomides, Paula Sutter Fichtner, Aimee I. Horton, Mireya Jaimes-Freyre, Jessie G. Lutz, Marcia Montin, Beverly Jean Rahn, Nancie S. Struever, Elizabeth S. Teall, and Gladys D. Weinberg.

Forty-three southern women will prepare for college teaching or administrative posts under the AAUW College Faculty Program. Those studying history are: Mary Eloise Boggs, Deede Paul, Anne Scepansky, Sara Teeter, and Besse Terry.

For information concerning AAUW grants, write to Fellowships Office, AAUW, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington 7, D. C.

Among ninety public high school teachers awarded John Hay Fellowships for 1963–1964 are: Sherrill E. Aberg, Dorothy P. Agranovitch, G. K. Aistrup, John F. Bartlett, Dirk F. Bollenback, Anne A. Crockett, John R. Dahl, Groomer B. Davis, Arthur W. Day, Jr., Sadie Englestein, Jerome Haffner, William F. Hamilton, John R. Loegering, James E. Longo, Ray E. Neiner, W. Davis Porter, George P. Rion, George C. Schneider, Stanley S. Seaberg, Douglas A. Smart, Jules L. Tanzer, Lawrence H. Vadnais, Jr., Christine M. Williams, George B. Worthington, Katrina Yielding, Stanley R. Yohe, and Janet P. Zerbe.

John Hay Summer Fellowships for 1963 have been given to 170 public senior high school teachers and 84 school administrators to attend summer institutes in the humanities.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has named 192 fellows to undertake graduate study in history for the year 1963–1964.

Samuel Eliot Morison, Pulitzer Prize winner, professor emeritus at Harvard, and retired rear admiral (official US Navy historian during World War II), received the International Balzan Foundation prize of $51,750 for cultural achievement.

Historians receiving grants-in-aid from the Henry E. Huntington Library and

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Art Gallery are: Robert H. Bremner, Richard S. Dunn, Mary Elizabeth Massey, and David B. Quinn.

Donald P. Greene, Harold M. Hyman, and Francis W. Schruben have received Midwest Research Grants, sponsored jointly by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin.

Three postdoctoral fellowships offered by the Foundation for Reformation Research have been awarded to Peter Fraenkel, Heinz F. Mackensen, and Allen Dirrim.

Toni Oelsner received a research grant from the American Philosophical Society and a supporting grant from the Wurzweiler Foundation, through the American Academy for Jewish Research.

Columbia University awarded its 1963 Bancroft Prizes to Page Smith for his *John Adams* (American history) and to Roberta Wohlstetter for her *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (American diplomacy).

The Waldo Gifford Leland Award of the Society of American Archivists was presented to Philip M. Hamer, formerly director of the National Historical Publications Commission, for his *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States.*

Emery Battis received the first biennial Jamestown Foundation Award of the Institute of Early American History and Culture for his *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.*

The Southern Historical Association's Sydnor Award was presented to C. Vann Woodward for his book, *The Burden of Southern History;* the Ramsdell Award was given to Bernard A. Weisberger for his article, "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Reconstruction Historiography" (*Journal of Southern History,* XXV [Nov. 1959], 427).

The William Koren, Jr., Prize, presented by the Society for French Historical Studies, was awarded jointly to A. Lloyd Moote for his article, "The Parliamentary Fronde and Seventeenth Century Robe Solidarity" (*French Historical Studies,* II [Spring 1962], 330), and to George V. Taylor for his article, "The Paris Bourse on the Eve of the Revolution, 1781–1789" (*AHR,* LXVII [July 1962], 951).

Robert Cargill Hall won the National Rocket Club's first annual Dr. Robert H. Goddard Historical Essay Award for his "World Circling Spaceships: Satellite Studies in the U. S. during the 1940's."

The Harry S. Truman Library continues to offer grants-in-aid of up to one thousand dollars to graduate students and scholars for projects involving the Truman administration and the history of the presidency. For information, write the Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

The Institute for Research in the Humanities is offering two postdoctoral

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fellowships for the year 1964–1965. These relate to some area of the humanities, especially history, philosophy, and language and literature. Further information is available from the Institute, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

Grants to qualified scholars, including graduate students, will be made by the Eastern National Park and Monument Association to encourage research in those areas of the National Park System located in the eastern United States. Those interested can secure further information from Edward M. Riley, Director of Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

Publications

The following German newspapers are now available on microfilm: *Vorwärts* (1891–1933), *Neuer Vorwärts* (1933–1940), *Frankfurter Zeitung* (1918–1943), and *Germania* (1926, 1928–1929, and 1931–1932). For additional information, write *Westfälisch-Niederrheinisches Institut für Zeitungsforschung,* Hansaplatz, 46 Dortmund, West Germany.

Other Historical News

At the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, November 8–10, 1962, James W. Silver of the University of Mississippi was elected President, Joseph J. Mathews of Emory University, Vice-President; Bennett H. Wall of the University of Kentucky was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer. Philip F. Detweiler, to be associate professor at Rice University, was appointed editor of the *Journal of Southern History*. The 1963 meeting of the association will be in Asheville, North Carolina, November 7–9, at the George Vanderbilt Hotel.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its ninth annual conference at Harvard University on April 5 and 6, 1963. Frances Childs of Brooklyn College was elected President for the coming year, and Paul Beik, Vice-President. John C. Rule of Ohio State University was elected to a three-year term as Secretary-Treasurer. The next conference will be held jointly with the Franco-American Colloquium, sponsored by the society and the *Société d'Histoire Moderne,* at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Wilmington, Delaware, September 9–12, 1964.

The Conference on British Studies held its spring meeting at New York University on April 6, 1963. Professor Herbert Butterfield read a paper entitled "Some Thoughts on the Early History of George III's Reign." Caroline Robbins, Donald J. Greene, and Charles Mullett commented.

The American Studies Association has elected Ralph H. Gabriel, American University, President; Russel B. Nye, Michigan State University, Vice-President; and re-elected Charles Boewe, University of Pennsylvania, Executive Secretary.

Leon deValinger, Jr., has been elected President of the Society of American Archivists, and Dolores C. Renze was re-elected Secretary.

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Recent Deaths

Alfred Tischendorf, assistant professor at Duke University, died November 26, 1962, at the age of thirty-four. His publications include the volume *Great Britain and Mexico in the Era of Porfirio Díaz.*

Fred Albert Shannon died February 4, 1963, at the age of sixty-nine. He had retired from the University of Illinois in 1961, after twenty-two years of service at that institution. He was a visiting professor at the University of South Carolina during the fall semester of 1962 when he was stricken with his fatal illness. A native of Missouri, Shannon grew up in the Hoosier State. He received his undergraduate degree from Indiana State Teachers College and his M.A. from Indiana University. In 1924 he received his Ph.D. degree from the State University of Iowa, where he studied under Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. He taught at Iowa Wesleyan College, Iowa State Teachers College, and Kansas College before joining the University of Illinois in 1939. At the University of Illinois he taught courses in Civil War history and in the economic history of the United States. Shannon won early acclaim for his historical scholarship. In 1929 his two-volume *Organization and Administration of the Union Army* was awarded a Pulitzer Prize. He was best known, however, for his contributions to the history of American agriculture. Among his publications were *Economic History of the People of the United States* (1940), *The Farmer's Last Frontier* (1945), and *American Farmer Movements* (1957). He published many significant articles in a wide variety of journals. In 1953 he served as President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Shannon will be remembered not only for his sound and scholarly historical contributions but also for his frank criticism of the works of others. As a scholar and critic, he had earned the respect and admiration of all who knew him and his works.

Walter Prescott Webb, President of the American Historical Association for 1957–1958, was killed in a one-car accident near his home town of Austin, Texas, the night of March 8. He was one month short of his seventy-fifth birthday. A native Texan, Webb pursued an unorthodox and somewhat delayed road to historical distinction. Reared amid semifrontier, semiarid conditions in west Texas, he had less than four years of formal schooling when he became a teenage teacher in a one-room country school. For the next dozen years he progressed up the public-school ladder, alternating with periods at the University of Texas whenever his funds would suffice, until at twenty-eight he received his bachelor's degree. From a San Antonio high school he was called to the university in 1918 to instruct students in the teaching of history in the public schools. For the next forty-five years he was to be a vital part of the academic scene at Texas, holding all the ranks through Distinguished Professor. At his death he was on modified service with Texas, but was working full time under a foundation grant to video-tape the story of American civilization as seen by its principal interpreters.

Because of his frontier writings Webb is often classified as a disciple of Frederick Jackson Turner, though he was quick to point out that he deliberately avoided reading anything by Turner until after he had published his own ideas

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in *The Great Plains* (1931), his first book, which he once described as "an autobiography with scholarly trimmings." His next book, *The Texas Rangers* (1935), has long been accepted as the definitive study of that frontier law enforcement body; aside from his textbooks it is the only traditionally styled book he wrote. In 1937 he brought out *Divided We Stand,* in which he attempted to show the vassalage of the South and West to the North; the book still sparks controversy. His final major work, *The Great Frontier,* in which Webb tried to trace the effect of the opening of the New World on Western civilization has, likewise, met mixed reaction. In all his works Webb seemed to care less whether critics accepted him than whether he stimulated thought; in this approach he was undoubtedly successful. Aside from his original approach to history, he was remarkable as a man. Too many honors came his way to list here, although among them were the Loubat Prize, a Harmsworth professorship at Oxford, and a ten-thousand-dollar grant from the American Council of Learned Societies for a lifetime of distinguished contribution to American scholarship. He was also quite proud of being the only President of the American Historical Association elected while teaching in a southern institution or while a resident teacher west of the Mississippi River.

Harry W. Kirwin, chairman of the history department at Loyola University (Baltimore), died March 11, at the age of fifty-one. He obtained a law degree from St. Lawrence University in 1937 and the Ph.D. in history from Fordham University in 1949. In addition to articles in scholarly journals he wrote a biography of Senator Herbert R. O'Conor (*The Inevitable Success*) and edited other works. In 1959 he was President of the American Catholic Historical Association. He was also a member of several professional groups, including the American Historical Association.

Thomas Powderly Martin died March 17, at the age of seventy-six. During his long career as a historian and librarian, Martin was archivist for the Harvard Commission on Western History, adviser on international law for the Navy Department, teacher at Radcliffe College, and associate professor of history at the University of Texas, the University of Louisville, and Boston University. He joined the Library of Congress in 1927, retiring in 1948 as acting chief of its Manuscript Division.

Charles M. Gates, professor of history at the University of Washington, died March 24, at the age of fifty-eight. A graduate of Yale University, he received his M.A. degree from Harvard University and his Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota. He was the author of several books and many articles in professional journals. His *Empire of the Columbia,* written with Dorothy O. Johansen, is considered the standard history of the Pacific Northwest. He also wrote *The First Century at the University of Washington* and edited *The Messages and Papers of the Territorial Governors of Washington.* Since 1942 he had been editor of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* and he was engaged in writing a comprehensive history of the urbanization of the West.

Frederic Duncalf, emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Texas, died March 29, at the age of eighty-one. Duncalf was born on March 23,

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1882, in Lancaster, Wisconsin. He received his A.B. from Beloit College in 1904 and his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1909. He joined the University of Texas history department in 1909 and then taught briefly at Bowdoin College and the University of Illinois before returning to the University of Texas in 1914 as professor of medieval history. In this capacity he continued to serve until his retirement in 1951. His courses in European and medieval history were popular ones, and he was responsible for the inauguration in 1936 of the Plan II program for honor students. His scholarly work in medieval history was mainly in the field of the crusades. He was a councilor of the Mediaeval Academy, a fellow of the Royal Society, and the author of a number of books including *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History* (with Professor A. C. Krey) and *The Story of Civilization*. As one of those who inspired the multiple *History of the Crusades*, now in progress, he contributed several articles to the first volume which appeared in 1956.

Alfred Whitney Griswold, president of Yale University, died on April 19. He received his bachelor of arts degree and his Ph.D. at Yale University, beginning as a history instructor there in 1933 and becoming professor in 1947. He was long a champion of academic freedom.

Dame Lillian Penson, distinguished English diplomatic historian and educator, died in mid-April.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I read with interest and regret the review in the January issue by Dr. Georges Bonnin, my esteemed former colleague in the German Documents Project, of Professor Steefel's book, *Bismarck, the Hohenzollern Candidacy, and the Origins of the Franco-German War of 1870*. Having read this work with care, I considered that Steefel is to be commended for his narrative, for his fine weighing of the evidence, and for his careful ascriptions of responsibilities.

I am somewhat at a loss to account for the subjective factors introduced into the review and for the animus with which it appears to be inspired. In Bonnin's *Bismarck and the Hohenzollern Candidature for the Spanish Throne: The Documents in the German Diplomatic Archives* the sources are printed in translation. Although serious scholars would agree that documentation of this nature would be better if published in the original language, Steefel nevertheless commended this work in his review (see *AHR*, LXIV [Oct. 1958], 173). The late Professor R. H. Lord, to whom Bonnin seems to point for matters of interpretation, might well have served as a model in the publication of sources, for the documents which he printed in his monograph were the German texts. Quite correctly Steefel studied the original language and in certain cases, which he indicated, disagreed with the readings offered by Bonnin. This, however, scarcely seems adequate to account for such disparagement as Bonnin offers for an excellent, scholarly monograph.

Washington, D. C. Howard M. Smyth

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To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Where my old friend, Dr. Smyth, talks of "fine weighing of evidence" and "careful ascriptions of responsibilities," I would be tempted to say more simply that Steefel was trying to run with the hare and to hunt with the hounds. I think that my account of the book pointed accurately to the ambivalence of Steefel's attitude toward Lord and the origins of the 1870 war. On the main issue of "war-guilt," Steefel stressed the fact that it was France which declared war on Prussia, but he canceled the strength of his argument by concluding unexpectedly that Bismarck was "skillful enough and patient enough to put the onus of declaring it on the enemy."

I know that Steefel has claimed: "As my readings of the originals sometimes differ from those of Bonnin, I have continued to use my own translations but have added references to his." But even here Steefel can be ambivalent, for his next sentence seemingly contradicts the preceding one: "All other translations, except where the reference is to a work in English, are my own."

I have again been through all the footnotes of the book and have found only one specific mention of a reading different from my own. As far as I can see, this alleged Steefel original reading was taken from the readings made by a young German historian, Jochen Dittrich, in an unpublished thesis of 1948 to which Steefel had access.

If Smyth feels so strongly against publishing German documents in English, it is difficult to understand how he has accepted spending the past ten years, as an employee of the State Department, preparing the English edition of captured German documents. Lord's book was obviously a subsidized publication, and he was able to do what he liked. One can regret, however, that the documents he published in German were of comparatively little interest, as he himself realized.

Oxford, England Georges Bonnin

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In reviewing my contribution to the *Festschrift* for G. P. Gooch (*AHR*, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 417), Arno J. Mayer deplores that I "should write once again as self-appointed champion . . . of the 'good' Germans . . . and all the old generals" of the Hitler epoch. I consider it the first duty of a historian to be an interpreter, not an advocate—neither for nor against! Thus I have interpreted, not praised, the attitude of the German generals standing in opposition to Hitler. I have written no word about "the degree of support for this [German] opposition [against Hitler] among the old elites," no word of accusation against "the outside world's responsibility for the opposition's failure," no word on the chances of "traditional conservatism . . . under modern conditions," no word on the question whether "Hitler would have been eliminated in 1938" "had the Allies refused to go to Munich" or about the possible consequences of his elimination. Moreover, I have not censured, but explicitly recognized "the dire necessity of the Western alliance with the totalitarian regime of the East . . . to destroy Hitler's tyranny first" (p. 365). Thus the whole criticism in Mayer's review concerning my contribution is unfounded.

Freiburg im Breisgau Gerhard Ritter

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his presidential address, "The Great Mutation" (*AHR*, LXVIII [Jan.

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1963], 315–31), Professor Bridenbaugh tells us that "many of the younger practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions." I do not know that the first part of his statement is based on a factual study, but it may well be true. Certainly it describes the class and ethnic backgrounds of a number of "younger practitioners" of my acquaintance. But what is his justification for referring to their emotions as getting in the way? Or for his next statement, that these younger practitioners "feel themselves shut out" of America's past?

The distinct impression left by his mournful sentences is that their author, disagreeing with certain interpretations or reconstructions made by a number of younger historians whose social class, national origins, and emotional state he is somehow familiar with, has leaped to the unwarranted conclusion that their theories are the product of these factors. Such an error by so distinguished a scholar suggests perhaps that his emotions got in the way of his historical reconstruction.

Staten Island Community College EDWARD PESSEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As a subscriber to the *AHR,* I should like to bring to your attention a book review in a recent issue (LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 448). I refer specifically to the review by Michael Cherniavsky of Ian Grey's *Catherine the Great.*

I do not know either of these two gentlemen; nor do I have more than the normal interest in early modern Russia in which both apparently specialize. But I do, very much indeed, have an interest in a colleague's being treated with justice. Quite obviously Cherniavsky does not like Grey's book. The issue, however, is not whether an author writes a good, bad, or pedestrian monograph. The issue is whether the reviewer has done his job. In this case, Cherniavsky has fallen woefully short of the mark, and I resent his flippant approach. It is striking, to say the least, that in the very same issue (pp. 602–603) the reviewer in question howls with pain at the criticism of Marc Szeftel. I am quite unfamiliar with the details of their argument, but whatever the pros and cons may be, at least Szeftel was fair enough to do a proper review.

Cherniavsky ought to be told that while criticism of scholarship is highly desirable for the continued health of the profession, it is devoid of meaning unless it is criticism in depth. Grey has written a work of 254 pages. Cherniavsky offers a review of 24 words. I suggest that something is amiss.

State University of New York, Cortland GERARD E. SILBERSTEIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

History of Federal Government from the Foundation of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the United States. This is not the title of a book written by a Soviet political scientist interested in the subject of federalism and hopefully anticipating what he eagerly desires. Its phrasing did not originate in a mind biased against the United States and our institutions in general; nor were the concluding words, startling as they may seem, intended as a "sting in the tail." But since it is highly improbable that many of your readers have looked into this book, or even encountered its title, a few words of explanation may not come amiss, especially in our current spell of Civil War centennialism.

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The manuscript was completed before the end of 1862, and the volume was published by Macmillan in the following year. The author in his preface, dated January 2, 1863, a fortnight or so after General Lee had come close to annihilating the Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg, took care to state that his book did not owe its origin to "the excitement of the War of Secession," that it was, on the contrary, the first installment of "a scheme formed long ago" and represented "the thought and reading of more than ten years." It would be unnecessary to make a careful study of the book to satisfy one that these statements are probably quite accurate; a mere leafing of its heavily footnoted pages would suffice for that purpose. The main theme of the volume is federalism in ancient Greece, to which seven of its nine chapters are devoted, though for purposes of analogy and illustration a good many references are made to the workings of federal government in other countries and in later times. In the course of one of these there occurs a sentence that seems to indicate conclusively that the writer looked upon the disruption of the Federal Union of the United States by secession as definitive, besides illustrating the principle that a historian, granted that he ought to be able to feel at home in the past, ought also to be careful not to feel too much at home in the future: "It is dangerous to try to prophesy, but one cannot help thinking that the United States and the Confederate States will have exchanged ambassadors . . . before the year 1869"! It was the author's intention to deal with post-Greek federations in a later volume or volumes, but the flesh is weak, and he was lured from his purpose by the superior enticements of—the Norman Conquest of England.

He was a historian who won great fame in his own time and is not wholly forgotten even in ours, one of the historical luminaries of Victorian England, Edward Augustus Freeman.

Rochester, New York ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

EDITOR'S NOTE

The October *Review* will be the last issue for which I shall be chiefly responsible. May I thank the members of the Board of Editors, the members of the *Review* staff, the section editors, and the hundreds of authors and reviewers who have contributed to the *Review* during the ten years of my editorship. I owe a special debt to the many readers who have critically judged articles before acceptance or rejection, and whose service must remain publicly unrecognized.

It has been a privilege to serve with distinguished colleagues and fellow workers.

BOYD C. SHAFER

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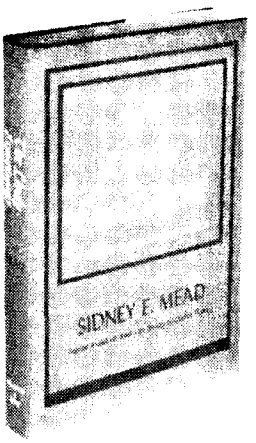
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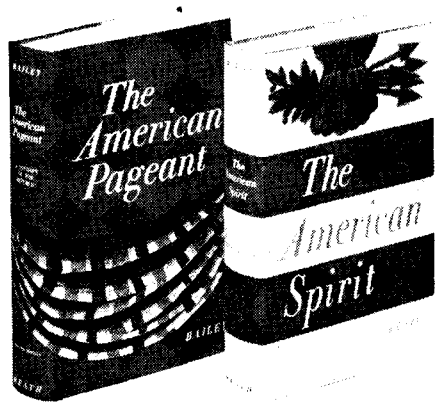
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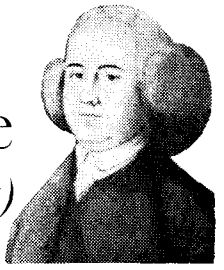
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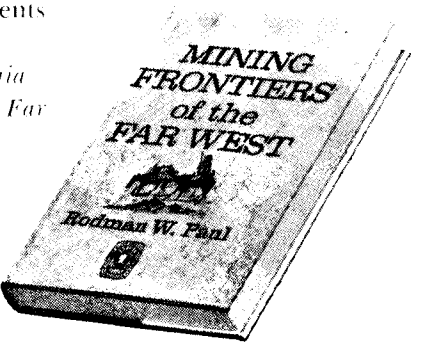
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